THE LIFE
OF
LOKAMANYA TILAK

WITH A FOREWORD BY
C. R. DAS
PRESIDENT-ELECT
36th NATIONAL CONGRESS

BY
D. V. ATHALYE
Late Head Master [illegible]
[illegible]

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1958J

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

MAHATMA GANDHI

INDIA'S

SAINT AND LEADER

मम प्रतिज्ञां च निबोध सत्याम् ।
वृणे धर्ममममृताज्जीविताच्च ॥
राज्यं च पुत्राश्च यशो धनं च ।
सर्वं न सत्यस्य कलामुपैति ॥

महाभारत

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FOREWORD

When the author asked me to write out a foreword when I was in Bombay in the month of June, I readily consented, because I thought that he would forget all about it after I left. But the author is inexorable and here am I trying to dictate a foreword.

It is difficult for me to say anything about the late Lokamanya, as I feel overwhelmed whenever I think of his greatness. Yet his greatness was so simple. No analysis of his genius or character is possible because of that very simplicity. I confess I cannot analyse his greatness; I can only say what has been said from a thousand platforms in India that he was a man of whom India is proud.

It is unnecessary for me to refer to his love of country, pride of race, indomitable courage, unflagging perseverance and spirit of sacrifice which made his activities so real. All these are a matter of record in the recent history of Indian Nationalism.

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It has often been said that the Late Lokamanya was a practical politician and not an idealist with a vision. I naturally shrink from an attempt to classify his genius. The character of a truly great man defies classification. I shall relate one little incident of his life and leave the readers to put what name they please to his genius. In 1906, when the Congress was held in Calcutta the Lokamanya and many of my Maharashtra friends were my guests. One day during his visit a gentleman from Lucknow came to see him. I was present. This gentleman was a Moderate in politics and began to speak somewhat angrily. He accused Lokamanya of creating dissensions in the Congress camp and said "Do you know what the Mahomedans are doing? They are combining against the Hindus and trying to start a Pan-Islamic movement." Lokamanya's eyes glistened. He said, "Are you sure?". This gentleman got very angry. He said "Sure? I am as sure as I am here talking to you. I have seen some of the letters. Whilst you are dividing the Hindus, the Mahomedans are uniting to crush us." To my surprise, Lokamanya said with a smile, which it is impossible for me to describe. "Then is

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our deliverance at hand. Don't you see the moment the Mahomedans combine, that moment the Government will be at them. The moment the Government is at them, that very moment they will unite with us."

It was after this that the Moslem League was started in open opposition to the I. N. Congress. It was after this that the Moslem League strove and worked in perfect unity with the I. N. Congress. It was after this that the Hindu-Moslem Unity was declared a crime in the Punjab. Now we all know. Was he a practical politician? Was he an idealist with a vision?

CHITTA RANJAN DAS.

148, Russa Road South,
CALCUTTA, 1-12-21.

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PREFACE

The story of the Life of Lokamanya Tilak is the history of Western India during the last forty years; it is the history of the birth and growth of Indian Nationalism, its impact on the Indian Bureaucracy, its vicissitudes, its struggles, disappointments, successes and reverses. To attempt a task of such magnitude, so eminently fit for a philosopher-historian is at any time a "stroke of temerity." It is still more so at the present juncture when the ashes of the controversies in which Mr. Tilak so prominently figured are hot. Though dead, Mr. Tilak still lives in our midst; and the time is not yet for a pronouncement of the final verdict of History upon him. That is evidently a work for the next generation when the biographer or historian will be fortified in his judgment by the knowledge of the ultimate success or failure of Mr. Tilak's methods and those of his opponents. My task is

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comparatively modest ; and though my difficulties are infinitely greater than those of the future historian, a contemporary biographer has obvious advantages over him.

Throughout the succeeding narrative, I have never tried to conceal my bias for Mr. Tilak. Nor will the reader—Moderate or Extremist, Brahmin or Non-Brahmin, Indian or European—except me to do so. I have however, to the best of my ability, scrupulously adhered to truth. Not being closely identified with party principles, personalities and prejudices, I can claim to have judged Mr. Tilak's opponents sympathetically. I have as great a regard for Ranade as for Vishnushastri Chiploonkar ; and if in the following pages the reader finds any lapses from the standard of fair criticism set by me, he should unhesitatingly attribute them rather to an imperfect comprehension of truth than to any conscious desire of misrepresenting Mr. Tilak's opponents. Mr. Tilak's greatness is so immense and self-evident that it stands in no need of any exggeration or misrepresentation.

The idea of writing a life of the Lokamanya was dimly and vaguely floating in my mind for a number of years. It recurred

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to me again and again when, taking advantage of the obscurity which hung over his earlier activities, many of his enthusiastic opponents in Western India actively set themselves to indulge in cheap gibes by irreverential and by no means fair references to what they considered to be his mistakes. In this, they can be pardoned for, being young, these opponents might have been the dupes of misunderstandings born in an atmosphere of party prejudices. But their attacks certainly led me to go beneath the surface of things and inquire what truth there was in them. And after three year's patient work, I find that Mr. Tilak's activities, far from having the shortcomings and inconsistencies of a political opportunist, have all the well-sustained unity of a beautiful drama, in which each scene is organically related to the preceding and to the succeeding and all together make one harmonious whole.

It would have been almost impossible for me to do this laborious work without the active co-operation of my friends. Their number is legion. I shall take this opportunity of thanking only a few of them; and if I have to omit individual reference to all, that is due to the limits of an ordinary pre-

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face. Mr. M. R. Paranjpye, Principal of the Gokuldas Tejpal High School, Bombay, kindly undertook to help me in revising the work. Mr. Annasahib Sapre and Mr. Karmelkar prepared the Press-copy in an incredibly short time. I must also thank Mr. M. K. David and Mr. Bhausahib Oak for having helped me in a variety of ways. Even then I should hardly have hoped of accomplishing this task but for the spontaneous assistance rendered by Prof. Haribhau Tulpule, Mr. D. K. Sathe and Mr. Annasahib Chiploonkar, who during the last ten months had placed their services entirely at my disposal.

The credit of having supplied the excellent paper on which this book is published, goes entirely to Mr. M. R. Joshi, Paper-merchant, Poona. Mr. Nanasahib Gondhalekar, the enterprising Proprietor of the Jagaddhitecchu Press, Poona, must both be praised and thanked for having printed off this book in five short weeks on his new Monotype machine.

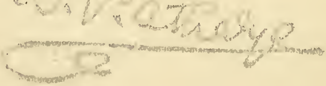
While this Preface was being written, news has arrived that Mr. C. R. Das, President-elect of the forth-coming Congress has been arrested. I must sincerely thank him for having snatched an odd minute to write a

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foreword when his mind was distracted by the troubles brewing in Bengal.

The unique feature of Mr. Tilak's career is that, like a magnet it draws all. While the populace claim him as one of their own, aristocrats recognize that he represented, in his intellectual and spiritual eminence, a nobler aristocracy than has fallen to their lot. Old persons feel interest in the romance of his career; the middle-aged derive instruction therefrom. On the younger generation, the influence of Mr. Tilak's life is still deeper. It not only interests and instructs but inspires the mind to a performance of great deeds. Like the story of the Pandavas, it is bound to go down to generations unborn as an eternal source of inspiration.

जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा



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LOKAMANYA TILAK

CHAPTER I

MR. BLUNT

Oh hush thee' my baby, the time soon will come
When thy sleep shall be broken by trumpet and drum;
Then hush thee, my darling, take rest while you may,
For strife comes with manhood and waking with day.

Scott

The highest praise that has yet been accorded to Lokamanya Tilak has come, curiously enough, from the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who is reported to have said to an English friend that, born a hundred and twenty years before, Mr. Tilak would have carved out a kingdom for himself. This pithiest and most appropriate compliment pictures for us Mr. Tilak as he really was, not a product of the Western Civilisation and of the English Government but a solitary surviver of the race which four generations back had well-nigh conquered the whole of India. It was impossible for him to be assimilated, like most of his countrymen by and in the mighty English Government; nor could that Government crush his spirit and make him a helpless spectator of our downfall. He was every inch a soldier——a soldier in a civilians' garb. The Press and the Plaftorm were his field of action; and from this battlefield he waged

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a relentless war on the Indian Bureaucracy for nearly forty years. He alone of all others dared strike the shield of the Government with the "sharp end of the steel." The silent suffering country wanted a man who could speak out without mincing matters, one who could boldly stand up for our birth-right held in pawn by the rulers of the land. Where could such an one be found except in the great Mahratta race?

Bal Gangadar Tilak was born at Ratnagiri on July 23rd, 1856. Born in a race to which the Peshwas belonged and in a town not far away from the birth-place of Balaji Vishwanath, he was, indeed, destined to play the role of a representative of those who had ruled the greater part of India for nearly a hundred years. In the year of his birth the political atmosphere in India was electric. It was a remarkable year for this remarkable child to be ushered into existence. It was as ominous to the new rulers of the land as this child was destined to be. Lord Dalhousie, the last of the aggressive proconsuls of the British East India Company had just departed, cutting off all the Native poppies that dared appear tall among the degenarates of the vanquished races of India, and while he was thus stretching the red canvas over the country, the last vestiges of the Imperial families of Delhi and of Satara were swept away, with the result that he left a legacy as fatal to his successor as Lord Chelmsford has done to the present Viceroy. Hindus and Mahomedans smarting under the humiliation of eclipsed *crescent* and *Bhagva Zenda* had made common cause. The unity was no doubt temporary, the result of a common wrong; the essential condition for a successful

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revolution was wanting, the proletariat being unwilling to be disturbed by the wails and woes of the feudal landlords with their figure-head Royalties. So the rising ended in smoke, making the English still more secure in the land.

Thus it was that when Bal, the only son and second child of Gangadharpant (*alias* Nana) Tilak was passing the early days of his life in his home at Ratnagiri, remarkable deeds of grim valour and cruel carnage were an every-day occurance in distant Delhi. The red fury of inflamed soldiery that had set the whole country ablaze must have borne its flues and sparks to the birth-place of our hero, at least in the form of a wonderful crop of rumours. It is inconceivable that the green memory of these things should have failed to impress the imagination of a child whose whole life was a dedication to the service of the Motherland.

What little is known of Bal's mother shows that she was a kind-hearted and an intensely religious woman. His father was one of those gems " of purest ray serene" that for want of favourable opportunities lie concealed in the deep " caverns of the ocean." Born in August 1820, he had passed the early years of his boyhood in dreaming dreams of learning and high social position and had, after finishing his vernacular course of instruction at Dabhol (Dist. Ratnagiri), walked over, in those days of difficult travelling to Poona. At a time when a boy learning English had every kind of encouragement given to him, Nana would surely have been able to complete his studies ; but a domestic misfortune compelled him to bid good-bye to all his ambitions and rest content, as a school master, with the " splendid " salary of

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Rs. 10 per mensem. But though he was thus called upon to waste his abilities in the cramping atmosphere of vernacular school-life, he never neglected his duties nor did he abandon his favourite pursuit of knowledge. All his leisure was devoted to the study of Mathematics, Sanskrit and Marathi; and his mastery over the several branches of these subjects enabled him to bring out two books, the one on Trigonometry and the other on Marathi Grammar. But neither the scholarship of Gangadharpant nor his conscientious discharge of duties could make his superiors forget or overlook his stern sense of personal independence. The inevitable consequence followed: he was neglected in official preferment. It was only after full 17 years of service, when his claims could not with decency be set aside, that he was rewarded with the much-coveted post of an Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector and was transferred to Poona (1866).

The intensely religious vein of the mother and the stern sense of personal independence of the father reflected themselves in the wilful nature of the boy, a characteristic which has played no insignificant part in his future career. This delicate child of a delicate mother was not put to school before he was 11, not certainly for want of facilities—Ratnagiri was a District town—but evidently because, the father, himself a school-master, intended to give his son a good grounding in Sanskrit and vernacular in the unfettered freedom of home-life. Bal proved wonderfully responsive to his father's instructions. He loved his childish plays no doubt, but, even at that age the ponderous volumes

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in his father's library impressed him more. One book particularly attracted his fancy. He had heard his father reading the sonorous periods of Bana's *Kadambari* and believing the book to be no more difficult than the holy Sanskrit verses he was set to recite every evening, he went up to his father and asked for the loan of the book. Startled with the request, but unwilling to dispirit his son by a curt refusal Gangadharpant promised to give the book on one condition. A knotty problem in Arithmetic was set; Bal was to work it out and have the book. Armed with slate and pencil, Bal waged a relentless war on the problem for an hour and a half and carried off the prize amidst the applause of the proud mother and the loving sister.

This was the first triumph of Bal's life. His poor mother did not live to see others. Her health, naturally delicate, undermined by frequent fasting gave way and she died (1866) before realising an Indian mother's ambition of getting her son married. Sometime later, Bal was sent to school. He jumped from standard to standard and was soon transferred to the Poona High School whence he matriculated in 1872. The rigid formality of the classes, with its accompaniment of churchyard silence utterly disgusted him. The spectacle of mediocre teachers hammering scrappy stuff, styled knowledge into the mediocre brains of students was not calculated to charm a boy to whom reading was understanding and committing to memory no labour. The race of marks and of rank could never allure him. His unwillingness to take down notes and translations was an enigma to his teachers. He was content that he had learnt the lessons and was quite indifferent to the

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expression. He cared more for knowledge than for words, more for thoughts than for the expression. But the traditional cast of the teachers' mind could not realise that the brain is more often a better register than the copy-book and that what goes to the copy-book generally misses the memory. Bal however stuck to his methods. When at work in Mathematics, he solved all the examples orally and put down only the answer. " Where is your method " asked the precise pedagogue. " It is here " said our hero, pointing to his head.

Such an " unmethodical " and rebellious child was never likely to be popular with the teachers, who on occasions took complaints to his father. Bal cared little for their good opinion and less for their " time-honoured " methods. His father was intensely proud of him and presaged for him a great career. The promising son of the Assistant Deputy Inspector, could not, in those days of early marriages, long escape the fetters of wedlock. A suitable bride was found in *Tapibai*, daughter of Ballal Bal of Ladghar (Dist. Ratnagiri), to whom he was married in 1871. Soon after this event happened two others, the one favourable and the other extremely unfortunate. Bal passed his Matriculation in December 1872 ; but only a few months before his success in the examination his father died, leaving him quite an orphan. " It is the bitterest element in the vast irony of human life that the time-worn eyes, to which a son's success would have brought the purest gladness are so often closed for ever,even before success has come." *

When Bal joined (1873) the Deccan College as a resi-

* Morley's Life of Cobden.

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dent student, the Bombay University and its affiliated Colleges were not quite as old as their *alumni*. The rough and ready methods of the East India Company's Government were, by this time being gradually substituted by Institutions more imposing under the direct rule of the Queen-Empress. In matters educational, Colonel-Professors and Major-Directors were giving place to graduates from Oxford and Cambridge; and although this new University ware was not as a rule a very great improvement on the former military commodity, it was, at least, imbued with the atmosphere of the English academies. Howsoever opinions may differ as to the value of the knowledge Indian students acquired at these Institutions, one thing was certain that they were not slow to admire the gowns and caps of the sartorial Major-domoes, in whose orbits it was their destiny to fall.

Persons of parasitic psychology, whose main purpose is to make the present comfortable without a thought to the future may deride the idea of National Education. But those who can think for themselves are painfully aware of the disadvantages of imbibing foreign ideas through a foreign medium at an immature but impressionable time of life. The system of education transplanted from England to India by well-meaning administrators was itself faulty at the very foundation; and the immature graduates of English Universities who came out to India as custodians of the New learning were entirely innocent of India's storied past and the living present. They were quite ignorant of the dangers of directing the youthful energies of the children of *shastris* and *pundits* into the uncongenial

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channels of an alien culture. It was of course impossible for them to impart instruction in the vernaculars. The students were therfore called upon to do every intellectual work through a foreign medium. The crushing burden of receiving instruction through English has been pronounced by competent authorities to have "atrophied all originality, research, adventure, ceaseless effort, courage and like qualities." But the misfortunes of the student-world did not end here. The assimination of alien thought at an impressionable period of life is an unsupportable burden. The influence of Shelleys and Byrons, like that of all narcotics is at once exhilerating and depressing. It plants alien ideals into the hearts of the young, without affording that corrective which a close study of Hindu ideals can alone give. The deification of Western culture and civilisation inclines the students to apply the crude standards of Western materialism to the nobler civilisation of this country. It is thus that the cry of Social Reform has gone forth. The principles of democracy immortalised in the passionate writing and speeches of Burke, Bright and Gladstone create aspirations difficult of realisation in the cramping political atmosphere of the country. No wonder that many a graduate has found his physical strength and endurance severely taxed in his academical life. The spectacle of hundreds of bright young men annually leaving the university portals as physical wrecks is, in no small measure, due to the circumstances detailed above.

Bal must either have instinctively realized these dangers or must have found his fragile frame quite inadequate to the manifestations of the mighty spirit

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within. For, soon after joining the Deccan College he determined to lay the foundation of that physical strength and endurance, which, in spite of worries and hard intellectual work stood him in good stead during the whole of his life. For full one year, he neglected his studies and devoted practically all his time exclusively to physical culture. Swimming, boating and wrestling were his pastimes. Morning and evening he passed through a severe course of Indian gymnastics. At the end of the year, he failed in his F. A. examination but he succeeded in his ambition and became a robust young man. Instead of being required to measure the quantity of his daily food, his powers of digestion were wonderfully developed. When some years later, he had an occasion to take food for a few months in an hotel at Bombay, the manager found him the least profitable of all customers. He could now stand the rigours of heat and cold and could with impunity spend hours together in physical or mental work. Even in 1900, when his health was unsatisfactory and he could hardly be said to have recovered from the shock of the prison-life of 1897-98, he swam across the Ganges—a distance of more than a quarter of a mile. Once asked the secret of his intellectual tenacity, Mr. Tilak particularly referred to this period of his youth and said "If one only attends to one's body as one does to one's mind from the age of 16 to that of 25, and if the physical strength thus stored up is not dissipated by gluttony or vice, one can stand any amount of hard intellectual work till old age."

This acquisition of health and strenth increased the buoyancy of his mind and he heartily joined in all the

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innocent pranks of College-life. He however knew where to draw the line between such innocent diversions and culpable mischief. He also knew how to despise the mistaken gentility of apathetic natures. His restless intellect, unfatigued by the rigours of study occasionally found diversion in heated discussions with his fellow-students. His outspokenness earned for him the title of Mr. Blunt. There is nothing paradoxical in the intellectual acuteness and social bluntness of Mr. Tilak. These qualities can otherwise be named as social and intellectual "directness." No beating about the bush, but running straight to the subject in hand—that was his characteristic. His critical faculty had abnormally developed, and like young George Washington playing with his axe, he used it on any and every subject that came in his way. His innate bias for the classical literature of his country, however, saved him from being the slave of his reason; and the excesses of the Social Reformers of the day made him shrink from accepting their gospel without reserve.

Two professors—Principal Wordsworth and Prof. Chhatre—of Mr. Tilak's College-days stood head and shoulders above their contemporaries not only by reason of their profound learning and inimitable teaching but also by their noble character. Till the end of his life Mr. Tilak ungrudingly admitted the high moral and intellectual equipment they brought to their work. They were *Gurus* in the real sense of the term.

Out of Mr. Tilak's college-companions, Messrs. Mule, Sharangpani and Kathavte, though not quite so well known, have, in their own way distinguished themsel-

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ves. Others—Messrs. Shridhar Balkrishna Upasani, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Vamanrao Apte, Daji Abaji Khare, Ganesh S. Khaparde, R. N. Mudholkar, Dayaram Gidumal—need no introduction to our readers. Mr. (Dr. Sir) N. G. Chandavarkar, too was a contemporary of Mr. Tilak, though studying in a different college. He passed his B. A. examination in the same year with Mr. Tilak (1876). Both Tilak and Chandavarkar secured a first Class in the B. A. examination.

The Mathematical abilities of Mr. Tilak were of the highest order and were fully and frankly recognised by Prof. Chhatre who, in those days was considered to be the premier Mathematician of the Presidency. Mr. Tilak's mathematical training, coupled with his fine classical study gave his genius that logical and ima-

* Mr. Tilak's Sanskrit Studies found recreation in occasional attempts at versification. Here are a few verses, selected from one of his Composition Note-Books :—

मातृविलाप.

प्रसमीक्ष्य सुतं गुणालयं विधिना संहृतजीवितं पुरा ।
जननी निपपात दुःखिता धरणौ मोहवशं गता भृशम् ॥ १ ॥
बत हाऽस्मि हता विधे त्वया तनयस्याहृता न मे पुनः ।
रविणा सरसि प्रशोषिते ननु जीवेच्छफरी तदाश्रया ॥ ३ ॥
पितरौ प्रथमं ततः सुतो हननस्य क्रम एष भो विधे ।
तनयः प्रथमं कथं त्वया मम नीतः प्रतिकूलचारिणा ॥ ४ ॥
वचनं न ममावधीरितं शिशुतायामपि जातक त्वया ।
विफलीकुरुषेऽद्य मे कथं गिरमुत्थाय सुभाषयेतिमाम् ॥ १० ॥
तव दूयत एव कोमलं मृदुशय्याविनिवेशितं वपुः ।
प्रसहेत तदेव हा कथं अधुना तात चिताधिरोहणम् ॥ १२ ॥
भवनं तनयेन शोभते न वृथेत्थं विबुधैर्निगद्यते ।

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ginative bent which excites the admiration of the readers of the *Gita-Rahasya* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas.*

His utter disregard of praise and scholarships was not due to the perfunctory method of his studies but rather the reverse. If one were to analyse the prize-hunters' mentality, it will be found that their studies are not the outcome of a love of knowledge but the show of it. The one aim of Mr. Tilak's life was the acquisition of the intrinsic and so all the rewards resulting from the attainment of merely marketable knowledge had no charm for him. His reading was extensive and thorough ; while reading for examination the history of the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, he studied about a dozen standard authors and made his own notes. While preparing for the LL. B. examination, instead of contenting himself with reading Hindu Law from English writers he went straight to the fountain-head and studied Yajnavalkya and other authorities. He also read all the important Acts passed by the Government of India since 1827. The closeness of his application to studies and his ready and prolonged concentration therein were the wonder of his friends ; and there was another quality which is equally, if not still more rare, the innate purity of his mind. Mr. Upsani, his life-long friend recalling those three years of Bombay-life says " I shared Mr. Tilak's room while both of us

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भुवनं हि विभाति मे वनं सुरलोकं तनये गते द्रुतम् ॥ १७ ॥
इति सा बहुशो व्यचिन्तयत्तनयं चाप पुनार्विमूर्च्छनाम् ॥ १८ ॥
विससर्ज च शोकपावके गुणिते स्नेहरसेन सा वपुः ॥ १९ ॥

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were students of Law at Bombay; and I don't remember a single occasion when he gave expression to any unworthy thought." Happy the youth which, like a lotus, can grow, unsullied and uncontaminated, in the muddy water of worldly life and which, the moment it is full blown is dedicated to the service of the Motherland. For such sacred worship, only the freshest, the most fragrant and unsmelt flowers are necessary. Mr. Tilak passed his LL. B. in December 1879.

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CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ORDEAL

Ruby wine is drunk by knaves,
Sugar spends to fatten slaves,
* * *
The Hero is not fed on sweets,
Daily his own heart he eats ;
Chambers of the great are jails,
And head-winds right for royal sails.

Emerson

IT has been said of Buddha that the sight, in quick succession, of disease, old age and death took away forever the smile from his lips and joy from his mind and thenceforth the Lord of Compassion devoted all his energies to the solution of the problem of misery. Mr. Tilak's youthful thoughts, too, were clouded by three great events, which produced an indelible impression on his sensitive spirit and here we must seek for the motive which led him to dedicate his life to the service of the Mother-land. The first of these events was the deposition (1875) of the late H. H. Malharrao Gaekwar and his subsequent trial, by a special commission, on the charge of having attempted to poison his Resident Col. Phayre. People in the Baroda State and outside, strongly believed in the innocence of the Maharaja who was not restored to his throne though the Commission differed in its findings. The fate of a hapless Indian Prince, who ought to

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have got at least the benefit of doubt created a deep wound in Mr. Tilak's mind; for its patriotism was not outlandish, based merely on the perusal of the works of Mill and Bright. It was essentially Indian, and was directly derived from a contemplation of the great and heroic deeds of Shivaji and his descendants. The Maratha History of the 17th and 18th Centuries formed the Bible of his patriotism and his blood was aflame when he reflected on the utter impotence to which the representatives of the Empire-builders of the 18th century were reduced.

If the rumbling of a widespread insurrection attended the birth of Mr. Tilak, the year of his graduation (1876) was marked by an abortive attempt to overturn the British Government. This attempt was confined only to some parts of Maharashtra. Its authors were a few fanatics under the leadership of Wasudeo Balvant Phadke, a clerk in Government employ. The enthusiasm of these people far exceeded their limitations. They had neither birth nor fortune to impress the imagination of the public. Wasudeo Balvant scarcely took note of the practical disappearance of the martial instincts of the race, the apathy and ignorance of the masses, the denationalisation of the classes, the sloth of the degenerate descendants of the old aristocracy. His attempts were doomed to failure; and they could only bring with them their inevitable legacy—repression and suspicion. The Brahmins—Poona Brahmins especially—were the greatest sufferers. Even a 'model' Moderate like Ranade, whose only 'mistake' in life was a youthful essay on Shivaji, that deprived him temporarily of

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his fellowship in the Elphinstone College did not escape suspicion. The impression of the two upheavels of 1857 and 1876 on the mind of Mr. Tilak was in inverse proportion to their magnitude and importance. The former was an incident which happened when he was quite a baby and so the impression which he formed concerning it in his boyhood was necessarily hazy. In the case of the latter, our hero was a full-fledged gentleman, well-armed and equipped with knowledge and reason. He saw how immature, thoughtless and foolish the attempt of Wasudev Balavant was; and from this time must be dated his horror of bloody revolutions. He clearly saw that if Indians had to fight with Anglo-Indian despots, it could only be, not with sword and gun, but with pen and tongue. He saw that the secret of the English power in India lay in their superior education and organisation, and that we could wrest that power only by meeting the English on their own ground. The collection of a few fire-arms and the slaughter of a handful of officials would not shake the well-established British Government in India and such attempts would only recoil upon us by rivetting our chains.

The third event that impressed his youthful heart was the terrible famine of 1877-8 with its toll of 50 lakhs of lives. He passed sleepless nights and began to find out the cause of such an abnormal condition. Throughout his life Mr. Tilak was a friend of the poor. Even Mr. Nevinson, a casual acquaintance of his was impressed with Mr. Tilak's concern for the poor. It was here, in this terrible famine of 1877-8,

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that his sympathy for the poor was roused. To add insult to injury, the advisers of Queen Victoria the Good induced her to assume the title of "Kaiser-i-Hind" in this very year of famine and starvation.

The impressions of these events were strengthened by the companionship of a congenial friend and the message of an inspiring leader. Since 1874, the young men of Maharashtra were watching with passionate enthusiasm the appearance of a luminary in the literary firmament of Poona. This luminary was no other than the illustrious Vishnushastri Chiploonkar, son of Krishnashastri, the memory of whose ability and learning is still green. The house of Krishnashastri was the favourite resort of all the leading lights of Maharashtra; and of the interesting and instructive discourses of his father, Vishnu, shy and studious, silent and thoughtful, was an attentive listener. So when, after passing the Matriculation he joined the Deccan College, he could carry thither a correctness of taste and a depth and variety of knowledge which many graduates could not claim. While many of his fellow-students were abusing the liberty of college-life and the liberality of their parents in a variey of ways, the excesses of Vishnu were merely intellectual and amounted to nothing more than a passionate study of history and literature, to the neglect of Logic and Mathematics. After graduation in 1872, he was persuaded to accept a school-master's post in the Educational Department, but this did not prevent from starting, in 1874, the famous magazine, the *Nibandhamala*, which by its magnificent rhetorical style and trenchant criticism of the Government and

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of the social and religious movements of the day won instant renown. It was clear that the pioneer of a new School of National thought had arisen, able and eager to fight with the party led by Ranade.

The intellectual plane of Ranade was certainly more elevated than that of Chiploonkar. In profundity of thought, in depth and variety of learning he was unequalled. He had tried his best to organise and discipline a generation of social and religious iconoclasts. He had tried to lead the destructive and rebellious spirit of his time into the constructive channels of Social Reform. He wanted to build a Rationalistic Church out of the materalistic and agnostic elements born of Western education. On the other hand, Vishnushastri, instead of trying to "reform" the people, wanted to rouse them to a consciousness of the glory of their history and religion. Heartily disgusted with the shallowness of the public movements of his time, he called upon the rising generation to make sacrifices; and he himself led the way by "snapping asunder (1879) the chain (of service) once and for ever" and resolved "to try what might be done for public good with the potent instrumentality of a press establishment worked by a vigorous hand."

The example and message of Vishnushastri had undoubtedly a stimulating effect upon Mr. Tilak. They also influenced Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Mr. Tilak's chief companion in the Deccan College. The early life of this remarkable man was one long fight with "chill penury." Neglected by relatives, occasionally insulted by those whose help he had to seek, this man had faith enough to grapple, undaunted, with every diffi-

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culty. When taunted with poverty he had the spirit to tell his teacher—a distinguished M.A.—that he, too, would some day take the degree of Master of Arts. Poverty has "repressed" many a "noble rage." It sours a man and makes him cynical. But even stark povery failed to repress the noble instincts of Agarkar. Not a wrong in this world but had him as its champion; not a cause of liberty or reform but gained his support. A student of Logic and Moral Philosophy, he had lost much of his faith in religion. But there was another Faith, to him higher and nobler, a Faith which evoked the finest qualities of his heart. The pent-up and ungratified desires of long poverty generally tempt a man to their enjoyment at the first opportunity. But such was the greatness of Agarkar that when such an opportunity was within his easy reach, he wrote to his mother "You may be waiting, mother dear, for your son to become an M. A. and lift you up from all the misery that haunts you. I, however, have decided to turn my back on money and happiness and dedicate my life to the service of the country." This utter self-denial, after a life of stark poverty would alone establish Agarkar's title to the ever-lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

There was one point on which Tilak and Agarkar did not agree, even in their college days; it was Social Reform. While admitting the existence of evils and the necessity of eradicating them, Mr. Tilak held that reform, to be lasting, could only be a growth from within; that hasty measures and intemperate talk would only retard the cause of reform; that reform should not be mere imitation of Western life and

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culture but should be based on a proper understanding of the genius of our race and the traditions of our society; that the key-note of Indian life is purity more than freedom and that in all programmes of social reform we cannot too much lay stress on this cardinal principle.

But though the attitude of Tilak towards Social Reform differed essentially from that of Agarkar, still they were agreed that this difference in view-point should not prevent both from co-operating with each other with respect to the main part of the programme which was education in the widest sense of the term. To cover the Presidency with a net-work of schools was only a part of their aspirations. They wanted to do something more; they wanted to educate the masses by imparting to them democratic ideas and enlightening them on the true state of the country. The birth of the New English School on the one hand and of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* on the other, heralded in Maharashtra a new era and galvanised its public life and the credit of this achievement must be given to Chiploonkar, Tilak and Agarkar.

To this band of enthusiastic workers, Ranade gave his blessings and something more; he recommended to their notice Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi, whose versatile powers, keen perception, sound experience and tactful, pushing nature more than compensated for his lack of academic training. Mr. Namjoshi's indefatigable energy and immense resourcefulness helped his colleagues to tide over numerous crises and earned for him the title of "our foreign secretary." To Tilak,

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he particularly attached himself; and the almost brotherly friendship that sprang between them remained unclouded till 1895, when Namjoshi closed his brilliant career without leaving the wherewithal to perform his funeral ceremony.

Another man, not less useful, joined them soon after. Vaman Shivram Apte, the celebrated lexicographer had earned in his college career high repute as an accomplished scholar and immediately on passing his M. A. examination had been engaged temporarily as Head Master in a Mission School. He tried his best to get a very good post in the Educational Department. But such is the rigidity of red-tape, that he was offered the modest post of an assistant master in an Anglo-Vernacular school. When the founders of the New English School heard this, they at once approached Mr. Apte and secured his services for the school as its Superintendent. The choice was most appropriate. Mr. Apte fully justified his selection for the post by the diligent and thorough manner in which he discharged his duties. He had in him the school-master's instinct, which taken at its best means a strict but temperate sense of discipline, patience with ignorance, system in exposition, attention to minute details and a readiness to plod unwearied through the dull monotony of school-life.

The Vernacular newspapers in Western India were, in those days mostly conducted by political dilettanti and self-seeking business-men. They therefore could not be expected to properly serve the cause of the public. The only important exceptions were *The Indu-Prakash*, the *Dnyana-Prakash*, the *Native Opinion* and the *Subodh Patrika*. These, out of the 77 newspapers conducted by

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the " Natives " commanded some influence. At such a time, therefore, the appearance of the *Kesari* (Marathi weekly) and of the *Mahratta* (English weekly), with self-sacrificing and patriotic proprietors evoked the liveliest appreciation in the mind of the public and considerable uneasiness in the mind of the Government. The appreciation of the public was shown by the rapid increase in the circulation of the *Kesari*—reaching nearly 4,350 within three years and the uneasiness of the Government stands mirrored in a remark in the Report (1882) on the Native Press which characterized the "prevailing tone" of the *Kesari* as " unfriendly to the Government." This left-handed compliment conclusively proves that even in its infancy, the *Kesari* had distinguished itself by its fearlessness. We do not however, find the rigorous editorial discipline which we have learnt to associate with the name of Mr. Tilak. This was but natural. The proprietors were, one and all, very young and had yet to form sound views on many of the social and religious questions of the day. The editorial eloquence of Agarkar was still in its dawn; the exuberant rhetorical style of Vishnushastri felt the limitations of a newspaper article; nor do we anywhere find the "parthian shots" of Mr. Tilak, his incisive logic and trenchant criticism. With all their faults, the news-papers—especially the *Kesari*—supplied the wants of their readers and were everywhere praised with warmth and enthusiasm.

As editor of the *Mahratta*, Mr. Tilak always championed the people's cause and in criticising the policy of high officials made no distinction between white and black Bureaucrats. He watched with the greatest

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solicitude the administration of Indian States. The affairs of Kolhapur in particular attracted his attention. Since 1870, the condition of Kolhapur was far from desirable. In that year died Rajaram Maharaj and in the year following his two widows adopted Prince Shivajirao. Though under good guardianship, the young Prince began to show, ever since 1877, signs of insanity and was often subject to delusions and suicidal tendencies. It was generally believed that this mental derangement was due to compulsory adminstration of intoxicating drugs to the Prince. The author of this mischief was supposed to be Rao Bahadur Barve, State Karbhari, who, spurred by the Queen-Dowager Sakawarbai, wanted to remove the Maharaja from the *Gadi* either by death or by proof of his lunacy and to have a new youth adopted by the Dowager. People, high and low believed in these rumours, and on November 24th 1881, a monster meeting was held at Poona under the presidency of so distinguished and so moderate a gentleman as the late Hon. Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh. In this meeting, a resolution was passed, suggesting that the Prince should be immediately put under the guardianship of some trustworthy persons. Soon after this meeting was held, it was rumoured that an attempt was actually made on the life of the young Maharaja, and while the alarm caused by this rumour had not subsided, Tilak and Agarkar got three letters purporting to be written by the *Karbhari*. In these letters the plan of poisoning the Prince was plainly suggested; and believing that these letters were genuine, Tilak and Agarkar published them in the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* and

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challenged the State Karbhari, if he dared, to prove his innocence before a court of law.

Thus brought to bay, Rao Bahadur Barve had to accept the challenge with grim determination. He hauled up before the Bombay High Court Tilak and Agarkar and some of his enemies at Kolhapur. His contention was that his enemies at Kolhapur had formed themselves into a caucus and had determined to blaspheme him. His arch-opponent was one Nana Bhide who having been refused a pleader's *Sanad*, had sought to wreck his vengeance by machinations in and outside the State. A willing tool was found by Nana Bhide in the natural mother of the Prince who had a grievance of her own against the Diwan. Finding themselves impotent to do mischief in the State, these persons had gone over to Poona, caught the ear of a credulous public and having approached the inexperienced editors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, secured an outlet for their fury. The letters, purporting to be his were mere fabrications made by Nana Bhide. He had never plotted against the life or the *gadi* of his master. The accusations made against him were wantonly wicked and he called for exemplary punishment of the offenders.

The sympathies of an admiring public centred round Tilak and Agarkar. They had championed the cause of the representative of the historic dynasty of Shivaji the Great. They could gain nothing and had risked much for the peace and happiness of an unlucky Prince. They were defended by the combined ability and eloquence of Bombay's rising leaders —the fiery Mehta and the sweet-tempered Telang.

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The three letters, of course, formed the pivot of the case. Were they genuine? The State *Karbhari* asserted that they were not; Nana Bhide till the last persisted in holding that they were. Who could throw light on the question? Some witnesses from Kolhapur were expected to solve the riddle. But, though summoned they did no elect to appear. The High Court could not compel attendance; for the witnesses were beyond its jurisdiction. Neither the Political Agent nor the Government of Bombay were willing to interfere as the case was a private one. The decision of the High Court went against Nana Bhide. The letters were pronounced to be unreliable. Tilak and Agarkar tendered a graceful apology. But the wrath of Barve was not to be so appeased. He pressed for conviction; and Tilak and Agarkar, though declared "free from any suspicion of malvolence" were found guilty of having "thoughtlessly published defamatory" articles and were sentenced (16th July 1882) each to four months' simple imprisonment.

The decision of the High Court caused no surprise, for it was fully anticipated; and so when Tilak and Agarkar were seated in a closed carriage and taken to the Dongri jail, they were rather proud of having been thus able to show their devotion to their country. Being inmates of the same cell, they could compare notes, review their conduct, weigh men and things, discuss future schemes and past mistakes. Such discussions were often carried far into the night and then the bugs and fleas of the dungeon were forgotten; not so the warders' reprimands for having broken the stillness of the night by their loud and at

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times heated conversation. In spite of such "lapses" Tilak and Agarkar were on the whole fairly "well behaved" and got 21 days' remission for "good conduct." The disgusting nature of the gaol-diet told heavily on their health, Mr. Tilak losing as much as 24 lbs. in weight. But they never complained. Only one thing troubled them; time hung heavily upon them and they even envied those of their fellow-prisoners who had been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Wearied of inaction, they sent in an application to the General Superintendent of gaols for some sort of work and were glad to find that he was kind enough to place books and writing materials at their disposal.

While Tilak and Agarkar were in gaol, a movement, headed by the late Principal Wordsworth and the late Hon. Mr. Mandlik was started to petition the Government to intervene and save these youths from the rigours of prison-life. The appeal fell on deaf ears. The *Dinbandhu* very properly said "Instead of applying to Government for the cancellation of the punishment, let us show our regard for the patriotic prisoners by giving them a right royal reception on their return." On October 26th 1882, Tilak and Agarkar walked out of the portals of *Dongri*, free men once more. Enthusiastic crowds awaited them outside. They were borne off in triumph. Addresses were presented; laudatory speeches wese made; and the only reply our heroes could make to all this overwhelming kindness was to declare that Prisons would never have any terrors for them and would never deter them from discharging

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bravely and sincerely their duties. Soon after, Agarkar ceased to be a politician and confined his attention only to Education and Social Reform. Mr. Tilak, however, was privileged frequently to enjoy the hospitality of His Majesty's gaols; and unbroken in his resolution, he pursued till the end his self-chosen work of National uplift.

We must not forget to mention that while the Defamation case was proceeding, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, then a mere college student acted a female part in a drama the proceeds of which were to go to the fund started to help Tilak and Agarkar. It is under these circumstances that Gokhale's name has been first introduced to the public. Considering the future relations between Gokhale and Tilak, who will not love to linger on the fragrant memory of this small but significant episode?

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CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL AND THE COLLEGE

We have undertaken this work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that, of all agents of human civilisation, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them up to the level of most advanced Nations by slow and peaceful revolutions; and in order that this should be so, it must be ultimately in the hands of the people themselves.

From the Statement of V. S· Apte before the Hunter Commission (1882)

MAN'S outlook of the world is necessarily dependent upon his environments. Howsoever indomitable be the individual will, it fails not to realise its limitations and has to shape its course accordingly. Gifted though he was with extraordinary ability, superabundent enthusiasm and magnificent courage, the only outlet Mr. Tilak found for his energies was the comparitively modest field of education. He and his colleagues clearly realised the complete hold which the alien rulers had obtained over the length and breadth of this vast country. Howsoever much the British Imperialists might boast of India's conquest by the sword, it has been fully and freely admitted by Seely that in the willing acquiesence of Indians in the British Suzerainty alone lay the great-

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est permancy of that rule; and the Educational system introduced into this country by the new rulers sought to secure this acquiescence by capturing the will, the intellect and the imagination of the people. Education, thus is an instrument by means of which the Government has sought to consolidate its power and perpetuate its authority. In self-governing countries where the interests of the rulers and of the ruled are identical, the education that is imparted is necessarily of a highly ennobling kind. It kindles patriotism, refines sentiments, strengthens moral sense and stimulates all the latent powers of the soul. But the education, which India has received during the last hundred years and more has been quite of a different nature. It has taught us to disbelieve our religion, disrespect our social order and even to disobey our parents. It has perverted our patriotism, has made materialistic our outlook of life and by causing us to neglect our ancient history and culture weakened our moral stamina and all but broken our national back-bone. But this is not all. The medium of the English language has put a crushing burden on our students. Add to this the mental isolation of those, who were appointed to fix the curriculum and one can easily understand how the hobby-horses of various Directors and Senators have ruined the youths of this country. Education, to be useful must be in the hands of the Nation's chosen leaders. Alien Bureaucrats and unsympathetic Mission aries have no right to shape our mental and moral equipment. They would, no doubt encourage the production of a class of well-trained clerks, obedient, loyal, quiet, submissive and single-minded in the discharge of

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appointed duties. But they would try their best to discourage manliness, virility and patriotism.

If these statements are not now regarded as paradoxical the credit is due, among others to Mr. Tilak and his colleagues who started the New English School Poona, on January 1st, 1880. On the opening day, only 19 students were enrolled. Within a couple of months the school stood fairly on its legs and by the end of the year the number rose to 336. By the end of 1881, it was above 600 and in January 1884, it stood at 858. The mangers of the school astonished the public by taking the very modest salary of Rs. 30 p. m. though every one of them was competent enough, in some other walk of life, to draw ten times as much. Dr. Hunter, President of the Education Commission was supremely satisfied with the wonderful spirit and solid improvements introduced by Mr. Tilak and others and has recorded (1882) his unreserved admiration in the following words :—

" Throughout the whole of India, I have not yet witnessed a single institution which can be compared with this establishment. * * * This institution * * can rival and compete with success not only with the Government High Schools in the country, but may favourably compare with the schools of other countries also."

The question has been sometimes asked : " How is it, that in his attempts to nationalise education, Mr. Tilak did not disdain to take Government grant ?" The answer is twofold. In the first place, Mr. Tilak did not surrender any of his principles in availing himself of the tax-payers' money through the Government. He did not bend his knees before the high-handed conduct of

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educational authorities*. He was not called upon to obey Risley Circulars. Secondly, the difference between the circumstances of those times and the environments of to-day ought to be taken into consideration. To-day, you must either submit to the whims or caprices of the educational authorities or sever your connection with them altogether. But in the early eighties Mr. Tilak started his career with the hope of inducing the Government to transfer the whole of secondary education (and College education, if possible) to popular control. He regarded the spread of education as a preparation for the national struggle. He saw that though the Bureaucrats were not willing to entrust to the children of the soil an iota of real political or military power, still they could be persuaded to part with educational control if we were persistent and enterprising enough. They pretended to hold over political rights only because we were not sufficiently educated. If pressed to educate us quickly, they pleaded the wish but regretted the inability to do so on account of shortage of money. It was the ambition of Mr. Tilak and his colleagues to so cheapen, spread and improve education that the Government could not, without going back on their own words reasonably refuse the transfer of secondary and col-

* In the critical days of 1897-8, the Deccan Education Society had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of the Bureaucracy and had to submit to arbitrary orders of the Government. This is not perhaps the only occassion when the Society felt constrained to consider discretion the better part of valour In justice, we may add that latterly, under the distinguished Principalship of the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, the D. E. Society has shown admirable firmness on more than one occassion and has refused to act against its conscience, merely to please official whims.

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legiate education to the people. This will explain why he and his associates accepted such a low salary; this also will explain why he accepted the Government grant. For some time, negotiations, informal no doubt, were actually going on regarding the transfer of the Deccan College to Mr. Tilak and his colleagues. But the reactionary element in the Government at last prevailed and Mr. Tilak's hopes were completely shattered.

It is not to be supposed that the success achieved by the New English School in an incredibly short time was due to any accidental combination of favourable circumstances. Far from this being the case, enormous difficulties met Mr. Tilak on every side. The vested interests that suffered raised a storm of abuse and misrepresentation. The lack of public spirit made the work of collecting funds very difficult. Money came not in torrents but in dribblets. More formidable than the scarcity of money, was the difficulty of getting suitable men, willing to accept the work in true Jesuitical spirit. The Kolhapur Defamation case, the sudden death of Chiploonkar, the incarceration of Tilak and Agarkar added to the difficulties. The patriotic fervour of Tilak, Agarkar and Chiploonkar greatly impressed even the green-eyed *Times of India*, which while recognising that the ambition of the founders of the New English School was legitimate, was somewhat afraid that this ambition was "destined to have momentous effects on the future of India."

Mr. Tilak was the soul of this devoted band. Modest and unassuming, he never loved lime-light. Though most of the work of organisation fell on his *puissant* shoulders still he never cared to figure as the Head.

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That honour he delegated to others. "I like to work" he said "and never think of honours."

In school, he taught Mathematics and sometimes English. His greatest difficulty was that he never found it easy to adopt his teaching to the capacity of his pupils. In this point Apte and Agarkar easily beat him.

Another peculiarity which distinguished him from his colleagues was his supreme isolation from the lighter moods of his students. Generally the most popular teacher is he, who would occasionally find time to indulge in those digressions on current topics which are the delight of students. Apte, Agarkar, Gokhale, Bhanu and Gole,—all sometimes gave themselves up to "fun and frolic." Mr. Tilak however was severely regardful of his lesson. Students could never draw him out. Indeed, the attempt even was never made by them.

And yet he was, not perhaps the most popular, but certainly the most revered teacher. For him boys felt that mysterious regard which genius and greatness always evoke.

With teachers of first-rate qualifications and capacity like Tilak, Apte and Agarkar, it is no wonder that the results of the New English School at the Matriculation were exceedingly bright. The admiring citizens of Poona were proud of these young lions and felt boundless confidence in them. Indeed, the New English School began to be considered as the new centre of public life and inspiration in Maharashtra. The school of thought led by Ranade began to dwindle and its brightness paled before the lustre shed by the heroes of the New English School. No prophet was required to

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foretell that before the avalanche of these activities Ranade's followers would be swept away.

It is not necessary to go into the various improvements made in the system of education by the founders of the New English School. The utility and efficacy of these improvements has been tested by time. Before 1880, the distribution of History, Geography, Mathematics and Science over the different standards of schools was arbitrary, unsystematic and unsuited to young boys. Tilak, Apte and Agarkar made the necessary adjustment, which at that time provoked much comment. They also insisted on the vernacular being made the medium of instruction; they discouraged the use of English as much as possible. Special attention was paid to the equipment which the students brought to the lowest English class and as this equipment was found to be very much below the normal—it is the same even now—a Vernacular school was started with the object of providing better intellectual material to the English school and every care was taken to make the instruction in the Vernacular school animated, more systematic and less rigid. An idea of the crude educational methods of those times can be had from the fact that, when what is known as the "Subjects System," was introduced in place of the old system, it was received in no friendly spirit and a storm of opposition and criticism awaited an improvement which no man in his senses thinks of condemning now.

It was impossible for Mr. Tilak and his colleagues to rest content with the establishment of a successful High School. Since the very foundation of the New English School, Mr. Tilak had cherished the ambition

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of starting a College. Besides, he believed that the establishment of a College would enable him to get from its *alumni* the right sort of men, properly imbued with the spirit of sacrifice and anxious like himself to cover the Presidency with a net-work of educational institutions. A preliminary meeting of the well-wishers of the New English School was held and on 24th October 1884 the Deccan Education Society was formed and an application to the University for permission to start an Arts College was made. It is needless to trace the slow developments of the College till 1890 when Mr. Tilak after eleven years of hard work had to leave the Society. Suffice it to say, that most of the work of organisation, collection of funds etc. was done by him and Namjoshi. He was the guiding spirit of the institution and can claim a handsome share of the credit of having made it a success.

As a professor, Mr. Tilak maintained an exceptionally high level. He was a specialist in Mathematics and Sanskrit; and he was occasionally required to take Science also. His teaching was always thorough and satisfied the cleverest of students. It was marked by rapidity, profundity and originality which frequently was the despair of average students.

The causes which compelled Mr. Tilak to sever his connection from the Society had their germs in the very initial stages of the progress of the New English School. They rapidly accumulated since 1885, result ing in greater and greater acrimony. It would have been better for the peace and harmony of the infant School and the infant College had more care and rigidity been observed with respect to the admission of new

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life-members, had the basic principles of the body been put down as articles of faith and had members joining the Society been required to observe them or withdraw from the body. As a result of this laxity, different temperaments could not harmoniously be blended by solemn obligations ; this want of harmony inevitably resulted in incompatibility of views, which, in its turn, increased bitterness and finally brought about rupture in 1890. Mr. Tilak and his associates started their career for the cheapening and facilitating of education. They placed before themselves the aim of establishing an Indian Educational Mission, forming a network of schools throughout Maharashtra on the Jesuitical idea of poverty and self-denial. In the discussions which Mr. Tilak had with Mr. Agarkar in 1879 this ideal was fully accepted. It was over and over repeated on each and every public occasion which they and their associates could get. It was repeated when Mr. Apte gave, on behalf of his colleagues, evidence before the Hunter Commission in 1882 ; it was repeated on the occasion of the visit to the institution of Sir James Fergusson, then Governor of Bombay (Feb. 1884). If Mr. Tilak's colleagues, later on found this oft-repeated pledge inconvenient, if by continuous and sometimes devious tactics they sought to temper its rigour, if regarding him as almost an obstacle in the way they harassed him by magnifying his faults, questioning even his capacity, *taxing him with self-assertion and self-glorification under the cloak of Divine disinterestedness and stoicism* and by going to the length of *passing a vote of censure upon him*, surely it was no fault of Mr. Tilak that he felt himself obliged to resign.

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The first three years of the school were spent in the struggle of asserting its existence. When the school and the newspapers became accomplished facts, inspite of desertion, death, incarceration and disappointed malice the next three years were spent in organizing the institutions. By the end of this period, the constitution of the D. E. Society was formed and the bye-laws of the managing board were passed on the model of the regulations of Missionary bodies. All life-members were to receive equal pay and had equal rights. As the monthly pay fixed was not very high, it was provided that under special circumstances gratuities might be granted in addition to monthly salaries. A further provision for accidents etc., was made by assuring the life of every member for Rs. 3,000 and Mr. Tilak who did the whole of this business thought that this arrangement would leave no motive for anybody to seek work outside the body and thus divert his energies in a different channel.

When, however, the struggles and cares of establishment and organisation were over, some members began to long for more and began to talk of the growing needs of their families. The cry was catching and when the lead was taken by some of the elders newly admitted members who had but a dim perception of why and how the principle of sacrifice was adopted naturally joined in it and every excuse was pleaded to discover a loophole and break through the original understanding.

The first attempt in this direction was made in 1885. It sought to remove the inequalities of payment received by members. In the beginning (1880) some members had taken no payment while others were allowed

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to draw more, even in after years in consideration of their special wants. It was proposed to remove these inequalities with effect from 1880, by making up the account of each life member since 1880, excluding the special gratuities in each case and the accounts were so adjusted as to make the sum drawn by each proportionate to the period of service.

It was unfortunate that the conduct of the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* was combined with that of the School and the College. The financial position of the school improved earlier while the newspapers were not paying concerns at all. The writers did not get any profit from their work. As long as the whole body were working zealously for the joint concerns no difficulty arose. But when members began to count the market-value of their energy and ability, it so happened that while some ceased to write to the papers and devoted themselves to more paying pursuits, others had to devote the whole of their time to the Press without receiving anything.

This brings us to the main question, "Whether or not a member of the Society could do some outside work for his private gain." In the initial stages of the school some members were paid extra gratuity for their special wants, because no member was to work in his private time for personal end. From 1885, however, the principle of equal pay and equal work began to be preached and it was urged that if any member had any special wants he should meet them by private work and that the duty of each and every member was to teach in the school for 4 hours and that, beyond that every individual was free to do what he liked. The

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result of this was that the membership of the D. E. Society began to be considered as a good start for a beginner in Poona and that if he had any energy and ambition, he could use it as a stepping stone for personal distinction. The scale of the salaries of the members of the Society was first increased to give them free time and energy to work for the common object and then the theory of four-hours' service was propagated to satisfy the financial ambitions of individual members, who priding themselves on the name of Indian Jesuits, were not willing to imitate the singleminded devotion of the European Jesuits. Mr. Tilak, therefore rightly insisted that either the outside work should be stopped or that, a rule should be made that the profits of the extra work should go to the common fund as in the case of Missionary Societies.* It was with this view that a resolution was passed, in February 1888, that if any special book was required for the school, it should be prepared by open competition and its copyright purchased by the Managing Board. The very first case, however that came for consideration, was decided on a contrary principle. Mr. Gokhale, who was given Arith-

* Mr. Gokhale, who in these controversies had uniformly opposed Mr. Tilak has himself framed the following rule for his *Servants of India Society* :—

(Rule IX d) That he (a member of the Society) will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Societymay be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

What Mr. Tilak insisted upon, in all the acrimonious controversies which his opponents in the D. E. Society thought fit to indulge in,was only this that a Life-Member of the Institution *will devoie no part of his energies to earning money for himself.*

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metics of Standard VII discovered that a suitable text-book was wanting and the Board resolved to make his book a text-book for 1889, before it was published.

About this very time Mr. Gokhale, who had been for some time working for the *Sarvajanik Sabha* journal now thought of accepting the post of the Secretary of that association with 2 or 3 hours' regular work every day. Mr. Tilak objected to such a diversion of members' energies. He declared that it would be carrying the privilege of private work too far to allow members to contract such definite engagements outside the body. The Secretaryship had been offered to him before, but he had declined to accept it for the above reason.

In February 1887, Mr. Agarkar found himself in money difficulties. Under ordinary circumstances, he should have put in an application for gratuity. But, while advocating members' right to earn extra money by doing extra work he had been chiefly instrumental in passing a resolution that the occasions for gratuities should be rare. He therefore brought before the Board a proposition to increase the monthly salary of all the life members. The only reason given for the proposed change was that the financial condition of the school permitted it. Mr. Tilak urged that if necessary to Mr. Agarkar, a gratuity might be given to him but the supposed prosperity of the finance was no ground for increasing salary, at least so long as the Society was not properly endowed.

These and like discussions, frequently held, created a lot of irritation which left behind it a trail of bitterness and even rancour. Questions of general policy, of starting a Boarding House and a Technical school, of

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accepting a European professor helped to widen the breach. Mr. Tilak steadfastly tried to remain loyal to the original ideals while others were equally determined to give way to circumstances. Finding the situation hopeless, Mr. Tilak took leave (June 1889) for one term with the object of ultimately withdrawing from the body. A compromise was then effected on the question of outside work, salaries and internal relations and then Mr. Tilak rejoined the school. But like previous arrangements, this too proved nothing more than a paper arrangement. So for the peace and harmony of the institution he loved most, Mr. Tilak, after a very painful struggle severed his connection from the D. E. Society (Dec. 1890).

When Mr. Tilak has detailed these reasons in his memorable resignation, when the records of the D. E. Society bear witness to the incessant struggles between his lofty idealism and the continued efforts of some of his colleagues to improve their financial position at the cost of the great principle of self-sacrifice, is it not rather strange that those who, though not eye-witnesses to the events culminating in Mr. Tilak's resignation have at least ready access to the documents of the Society, should have come forward to anyhow discredit Mr. Tilak in the eyes of the general public ? The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, in one of his gratuitous attacks on Mr. Tilak has attempted to discover the causes of Mr. Tilak's disagreement with his colleagues. But he has not a word to say about the sordid considerations and disputes which disfigured the Society's Proceedings Book for a number of years. All these controversies he conveniently ignores and rushes to his own pet theories which,

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unsupported by evidence and having no foundation in facts should never have been propounded. According to Mr. Paranjpye, Mr. Tilak had two unpardonable faults. He never learned the simple lesson that two persons could differ on some points while agreeing on many others ; and worse still, Mr. Tilak was such a masterful personality that he could never work with an equal. The inevitable consequence followed. Mr. Tilak, unable to tolerate differences of opinions in his colleagues became more and more overbearing in his dealings with them ; and jealousy completed the breach thus created by intolerance.

Is there any shred of truth in these accusations ? Have they been supported by any evidence, real or imaginary ? The answer is no. That Mr. Tilak held strong views on many important problems of the day is well-known ; but that differences in opinions created the breach in the D. E. Society has yet to be established; and that Mr. Tilak allowed these differences so to overpower him as to influence his conduct with those interested in the work of the Society is indeed a large assumption. Why, we can enunciate just the contrary proposition and undertake to prove it from manifold instances on record. Unlike Messrs Apte and Agarkar—his principal opponents in the Society—Mr. Tilak was essentially a man of action ; and being a man of action he never hesitated to co-operate even with his opponents. Times without number, Mr. Tilak had occasion to crosss words with Dr. Bhandarkar; but in the picketing campaign of 1908, Dr. Bhandarkar was his friend and ally. Times without number, Mr. Tilak had occasions to condemn the public conduct of Dr. Bhatavdekar;

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but in the astronomical conferences held in Maharashtra to improve the old calenders, Dr. Bhatavadkar was always by his side. In the plague of 1897, Mr. Tilak co-operated even with the Government. In the famous Home Rule agitation, he joined hands with Mrs. Besant. There have been occasions when Mr. Tilak has co-operated with Mr. Paranjpye himself. If Mr. Tilak could co-operate with the missionaries, with the Government, with persons of the type of Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Bhatavadekar, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Paranjpye, surely the charge of intolerance falls to the ground and cannot by any stretch of logic or rhetoric be sustained against one, who of all others was chiefly instrumental in securing for the D. E. Society the patronage of Ranade, Bhandarkar, Telang, Mandlik, Wordsworth and many others.

Mr. Tilak jealous! Mr. Tilak unable to work with his equals——Mr. Tilak, who during eleven years of his life in the D. E. Society never once cared to accept the post of a Principal, Head-Master or Superintendent! And prey, jealous of whom? Not of Ranade or Telang — his intellectual peers; but of Apte, Agarkar and Gokhale!! "Mr. Tilak saw soon after Gokhale's admission to the society that here was a man likely to be his formidable rival." Mr. Paranjpye is here speaking of the Gokhale, not of 1905 or 1908, no, not even of 1897; the Gokhale of 1885 or 1887 was, according to his own biographers, regarded by his own friends and Mr. Tilak's opponents as nothing better than a clever college student. Apte was a Sanskritist and nothing more; Mr. Tilak's versatile genius could beat Apte on his own ground. As regards Agarkar, his title to fame

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rests more on his great sacrifice, his championship of every kind of reform and his eloquent style, rather than on his genius and learning. In point of intellectual equipment, Mr. Tilak far surpassed all his colleagues; and if there *was* any jealousy at work, it must have been rather in the minds of those who, accustomed to regard Mr. Tilak as an equal ever since the college days, could not now bear with equanimity his enormous superiority.

Whether Mr. Tilak should have so much valued the principle of self-sacrifice as to endanger unity and goodwill might leave room for difference of opinion. But from the foregoing account it must be abundantly clear that, not jealousy or intolerance but the great principle of self-sacrifice on which Mr. Tilak would brook no compromise was responsible for Mr. Tilak's separation from his colleagues. The incident, however deplorable or painful brought happy results; for the loss of the D. E. Society was the gain of India. One need never lament the day—howsoever unpleasant the circumstances attending the event—when Mr. Tilak decided to give that to this country which he had so unselfishly and ungrudgingly given to the school and the college. Our only regret is that he did not leave the D. E. Society a few years earlier.

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CHAPTER IV

TILAK AND SOCIAL REFORM

I do not believe in reform ; I believe in growth.

Swami Vivekananda.

I have yet to see a nation, whose faith is determined, by the number of husbands its widows gety.

Swami Vivekananda.

Instead of increasing the elements of friction—the besetting weakness of reformers and dissidents of all kinds—he took infinite trouble to reduce those elements to the lowest possible points. Hence he was careful not to take up too many subjects at once, because, the antagonism generated by each, would have been made worse, by the antagonism to each other ; and he would have called up a host of enemies together, instead of leaving himself free to deal with one at a time.

Lord Morley on Richard Cobden.

THE stagnant condition of the Indian civilisation during several centuries has given rise to a number of social evils which by their very accumulation impressed the imagination of the first generation of English-educated Indians. But these evils are neither more pressing nor more hideous than those which during the last three centuries have accompanied the rapid growth of European power and culture. The first duty of every country is to strengthen its position and consolidate its influence amidst neighbouring groups of nations with a view to safe-guard its political liberty which is the mother of all social well-being. Where this liberty is wanting, the duty of the people lies in recovering it

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from those into whose hands it has fallen. But the Indian leaders in the first half of the 19th century failed to take note of this cardinal principle and the country, instead of pining for its lost independence was applauding the English as deliverers. Howsoever natural such an attitude might have been owing to the chaotic condition of things just before the British Conquest it cannot be too much deplored. For, relieved of the cares and responsibilities of political and international questions, the new leaders of the country attended to the next best thing, the condition of their society. In this attitude they were encouraged by their English and Anglo-Indian masters as well as by the zealous Missionaries, who, too had an axe of their own to grind. Add to this the tendency of a fallen nation to be-little its own worth and admire the customs, manners, thoughts and institutions of the rulers. Knowing that they were a mere handful in the midst of crores of Indians, the English believed that unless they maintained very high prestige among Indians the Political domination of India was an impossibility and hence they appeared to us at their best,—strong, masterful, gifted with all the qualities of greatness. They were demigods amidst a race of mortals, giants ruling over pigmies and the very limited intercourse Indians could have with them completely concealed from us their shortcomings. It is not surprising that in the psychological situation detailed above, Indian leaders, cut off from the moorings of National traditions mistook the unreal for the real, the accidental accompaniment for the substance. Conscious of their own impotence and anxious to lift up the

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country to a high level they could think of only one way, the complete Westernisation of India. English dress, English habits, even English diet and English life must, they thought, be imported into this country before we could think of replacing the English Bureaucrats. Ladies must learn, widows must remarry, castes must go,—all because we must be equal to our rulers in efficiency and strength. These early English-educated leaders advocated Social Reform with the same object with which Japan, nearly seventy years back threw away her crude military weapons in favour of the modern instruments of destruction. In short, love of imitation, loss of individuality, the glamour of the English civilisation and a fierce desire to get rid of India's inferiority, joined with the liberalising tendencies of the Western thought, ushered the era of Social Reform in India.

As years passed by, the wildness of these reformers somewhat abated. But the central idea that possessed them was faithfully transmitted to the next genration. Even Ranade was obessed with the idea of getting, so to speak a certificate from the rulers about the equal social status of the Indians. In all the social programme he has left us, we do not come accross a single item wherein he has departed from the English model. The idea that the English were Heaven-sent trustees of this country dominated Indian thought in his days also and it was believed that once the English had to concede that Indians had socially advanced up to their level political rights could not, with decency, be refused. It was Vishnushastri Chiploonkar, who gave a rude shock to this blind optimism and declared that if Indian

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Society was to grow, it could only develop on its own lines. His scathing criticism of the degenerate Social Reformers of the day created a new epoch of social and political thought and during all his eventful career, Mr. Tilak did not much depart from the lines laid down by his master. Mr. Tilak was essentially a Puritan of Puritans and so was in a sense more fitted to lead Social Reform than many of the so-called Reformers; but being more a man of action than of thought he preferred to concentrate on the political issue.

"Was Mr. Tilak a Social Reformer"? The question can be correctly answered only by knowing which reforms he approved of and which 'reforms' he condemned. He favoured foreign travel but insisted on teetotalism and vegetarian diet. He applauded remarriages of child-widows; but laid stress on the proper performance of the Vedic rites. He was for female education but wanted it to be both useful and ornamental. He tolerated inter-dining but only on occasions of necessity. He wanted sub-castes to intermarry before he could favour the larger question of intercaste marriages. He advocated adult marriages but disliked the predominantly materialistic nature of Western marriages. He wanted the badge of untouchability to be removed but would be no party to hasty and fanatical measures that would only retard the improvement of the social life of the 'depressed' classes. He was for a policy of open door to all classes and creeds. Drink he abhored, also sexual vice. He wished our reformers to actively combat these evils by strenuous propaganda. Reform he wanted, but genuine reform and not apish imitation of Western life and manners.

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His ideal of a Social Reformer was a Buddha, a Kabir or a Tukaram. The leader of the Social Reform movement must essentially be a man of peace. He must be a lover of Indian civilisation and culture and must proceed to reform society with due respect for the traditions of the society itself. He must not only be of our society but must live in it. He must be bold enough to break those bonds that have outlived their utility; but at the same time he must be calm enough not to harm his cause by abusive language. He must be a "stalwart Puritan man, battling for the right, trustful but not elated, serious but not dejected." He should make his way through misunderstandings, opposition and persecution by sheer force of truth, love and courage.

But the Social Reform movement of Mr. Tilak's youthful days did not conform to this ideal. It was essentially a child of the Western civilisation; it had its origin in callous disregard of the past. It ignored the study of the fundamental basis of Indian Society. It was not discriminating. It was largely imitative. It sought to copy Western life and institutions. The leaders were weak, halting and inconsistent; the followers had nothing in them but sound and fury. Sustained enthusiasm and sterling sacrifice were woefully at a discount. It was a movement which claimed, first priority to and later on equal status with the political movement and sought radically to reconstruct our society without taking note of the traditions of the past or the insufficient materials available in the present. Such an artificial and indiscriminating movement, launched by a handful of fanatics simultaneously

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with the National Congress excited Mr. Tilak's liveliest opposition ; and for a few years he was engaged in relegating the movement to its normal plane and not allowing it to usurp the chief attention of the country.

Ever since 1884, the 'irrepressible and audacious' Mr. Malbari had been trying to raise the age of marriage of Hindu girls. The field of his activity covered not only the length and breadth of India but the United Kingdom of Great Britain also, whence he brought considerable pressure to bear on the then Viceroy and his Council to consider his proposals some of which were as follows :—

(1) Cohabitation by a husband with his wife, under twelve years of age, should be made penal.

(2) In cases of infant-marriages, the wife should be entitled to cancel the marriage, if she liked, on attaining majority.

(3) Suits by husbands for the restitution of conjugal rights should not be allowed.

(4) A widow should continue to hold her first husband's property even after her remarriage.

These and other proposals struck at the very root of Hindu Society and nullified at one stroke the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage-tie. They, therefore caused intense alarm ; and when it was known that a Bill to raise the "Age of Consent" from 10 (Vide Sec. 375 of the Indian Penal Code) to 12 was in contemplation not only the orthodox people but some of those who were pronounced Social Reformers resented this legislative interference. It was generally believed, though without reason and in spite of the Government's assurance to the

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contrary, that the introduction of this Bill was only the thin end of the wedge and that the whole of Mr. Malabari's programme was likely to receive legislative sanction. Mr. Tilak's opposition to this Bill has been severely criticised. We should remember, however, that amongst those who diaspproved of this Bill, can be seen the names of the late Sir Romesh Chander Mitter, the late Mr. W. C. Banerjea, the late Sir T. Madhavarao, Babu (now Hon. Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. (Hon. Dr. Sir) Chimanlal H. Setalwad and Mr. (now Hon. Mr.) G. S. Khaparde. Mr. Tilak's attitude was guided by strong common sense. He challenged the right of a foreign Bureaucracy to sit in legislative judgment on the Indian society. He denied the necessity of the measure and the extent of the evil which he was sure would be eradicated by increasing education. He led a vigorous agitation, which there is reason to believe convinced the Government of the day of the unwisdom of its step ; the fetish of prestige, however steeled the Governments' determination to get the Bill passed (19th March 1891). The Government even preferred* " to be wrong with Prof. Bhandarkar, Mr. Justice Telang and Dewan Bahdur Raghunath Rao, than to be right with Pandit Sasadhar and Prof. Tilak." The impression which Mr. Tilak made, in those eventful months marked him out as the " coming man". The merciless logic and the vast knowledge with which he exposed the fallacies and sophistries of the Reformers in his " long and scholarly " letters to the *Times of India* were universally admired and the extent to which he succeeded in organising

* From the speech of Sir A. R. Scoble (Law Member).

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public opinion enabled him to pass a resolution in the Bombay Provincial Conference (May 1891) regretting that the Government did not properly respect the public opinion on the "Age of Consent Bill." It is worth noting that the leaders of the Reform Party who were present at the Conference dared not oppose the resolution moved by Mr. Tilak.

Mr. Tilak was not merely a destructive critic. He showed the way in which the Bill could be made acceptable to the Orthodox party. He suggested that the attainment of puberty should be made the legal age for the consummation of marriage. Had this compromise been accepted there would have been no trouble. But neither the Government nor the leading Reformers were in a conciliatory mood. Mr. Tilak about this time (26th October 1890) put forth one suggestion which shows the sincerity of his faith in genuine social reform. He disapproved of general legislation as the masses were not prepared for the same. But he welcomed resort to legislation as a binding force to those who believed in reforms. His proposals were as follows :—

(1) & (2) Girls and boys should not be married until they have reached the age of 16 and 20 respectively.

(3) & (4) Unless they are prepared to marry widows, men should not marry after they are 40 years old.

(5) There should be absolute prohibition of liquor.

(6) Acceptance of dowry in marriages should be prohibited.

(7) Disfigurement of widows should be forthwith stopped.

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(8) One-tenth of the monthly income of every reformer should be devoted to public purposes.

Neither Ranade nor Agarkar were willing to bind themselves with this pledge. However, on Nov. 1st 1890, a meeting was held under the presidency of the late Hon. Rao Bahadur Nulkar to consider Mr. Tilak's proposals. At this meeting where both Mr.Ranade and Prof. (Dr. Sir) Bhandarkar were present, Mr. Tilak delivered a speech which deserves to be recorded. He said—" There has been much tall talk but little action regarding social reform, with the result that even those reforms, the vital need of which has been generally admitted have not been carried out into practice. We must not only see what reforms are required, but also whether and how far they are practicable and how they can be made popular; for in reforming society, care ought to be taken to avoid the creation of any gulf between the people on the one hand and the reformers on the other. We must always carry public opinion with us; and this can be done, *inter alia*, by securing for our reforms the sanction of religion. I am in favour of Social Reform." He then discussed his 8 points and wound up by saying that modifications might here and there be made in his scheme and then the whole be made binding on its supporters by calling in legislative sanction. Legislation, he urged should bind the reformers only and not the masses. Mr. Ranade welcomed Mr. Tilak's speech but expressed his doubt as to how many people would come forward to bind themselves legally to carry out the reforms proposed in the 8 points. He said that there were 4 classes of social reformers (1) Those who look to

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religious leaders for support, (2) Those who wanted to avail themselves of caste-unions, (3) Those who were willing to accept legislation for themselves and (4) Those who wanted legislation applicable to all. He concluded by saying that as Mr. Tilak had fairly advanced up to the third stage, there was very little difference between himself and Mr. Tilak.

What, then, was the difference between the school of thought represented by Mr. Ranade and that represented by Mr. Tilak? For difference—vital difference—there was, in spite of Mr. Ranade's attempt to emphasise the points of agreement. The difference was this that while Ranade was prepared, if convenient, to coquette with religious sanction to social reform, Mr. Tilak insisted that there should be no divorce between the two. The former wanted to utilise, for the propagation of his ideas, the disintegrating forces that had come in the wake of the English conquest; the latter while emphatically not unfriendly to social reform, believed in the imperative necessity of checking, from the larger national standpoint, the disintegrating forces by fostering a due sense of pride in and respect for the social and religious institutions of the people. The former depended solely on Western influence and thought; Mr. Tilak was for the blending of the old culture and the new. The former welcomed State-interference in matters social, the latter strongly resented it for the simple reason that reform to be durable must be a growth from within. Differing thus in their outlook, it is not surprising that while Ranade was prepared to associate and work with wild and reckless people, people who

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were the very negation of qualities required for the Social Reformer—gentleness, patience, tact, forbearance, and sweetness, Mr. Tilak was gradually convinced of the futility of social reform as it was then propagated and was for the above reason compelled to adopt first an attitude of constructive opposition and then of neutrality. No 'petti-fogging motives of policy,' no consideration of winning cheap popularity by 'pandering to public prejudices' determined his attitude.

Looking back at the controversy from a distance of 30 years, what, after all has been the net result of this much-debated measure? Under the combined influence of increasing education and economic conditions and not certainly as a result of the passing of the Bill, the age of marriage has gone up, making the law practically a dead letter. Only bitter feelings have been created, feelings which have widened the gulf between the Orthodox and the Reformers and frustrated Mr. Tilak's attempts to bring about a social Reform that would not run counter to the religious and patriotic susceptibilities of the people. It is with pain that one recalls the rowdy scenes that unfortunately marred a meeting convened by the Reformers at the *Kreeda Bhuwan* (25th Feb. 1891). These scenes, it is still more regrettable to observe, so enraged a venerable and learned Reformer that he telegraphed to the *Times of India* insinuating that Messrs. Tilak and Namjoshi were at the bottom of the mischief. Subsequently a notice was served upon the *Times of India* (2nd Mar. 1891) and the Reformers ceased to persist in the insinuation. They, however

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prosecuted five persons for rioting, all of whom were acquitted by the Magistrate. (23rd Mar. 1891).

While the ashes of the 'Age of Consent' controversy were still hot, another episode, still less important widened the breach between Mr. Tilak and the Reformers. Mrs. Ramabai—that enterprising Indian Christian lady—had, by her untiring efforts in America, collected funds for the establishment of a Resident School for Indian girls, especially widows. Mr. Tilak, did not at all approve of the idea of a school for Indian girls managed by a Christian lady; but knowing full well that the Reformers could not command the necessary sacrifice and organising capacity, he reluctantly enrolled his name among the sympathisers of the institution, after satisfying himself that only secular education would be imparted in the school. When, however, he read in the Illustrated Christian Weekly of New York (21st Dec. 1889) that there were about four students in the school studying Christianity or attending Christian prayers in a Church, he indignantly asked what became of Mrs. Ramabai's pledge that the school would strictly remain secular in its character. Mrs. Ramabai protested and explained the circumstances under which her four students were receiving Christian training. The Advisory Committee consisting of men like Mr. Ranade and Dr. Bhandarkar took Mrs. Ramabai to task and asked her to confine herself to secular education. Mrs. Ramabai had to yield for a time. But she soon threw overboard the Advisory Committee by managing to secure for herself plenary powers from the Head Office in America. This was the moment when

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the advisory Committee ought to have spoken out its mind in unmistakable terms and withdrawn, by means of resignation its moral support from the institution. But the members wanted to outwit Mrs. Ramabai and get a reversal of their decision from the American Head Office; this was an impossibility, as the Head Office had implicit trust in Mrs. Ramabai and it was supplying funds to her mainly for the propagation of Christianity. Mr. Ranade and his followers had therefore to play a game of dissimulation; for they knew that once the public faith in Mrs. Ramabai was shattered, nothing could rehabilitate it. It was here that they had a tussle with Mr. Tilak. From the middle of 1891 to the close of 1893, this was one of the burning topics of the day. The taunting and violent way in which papers like the *Subodh Patrika* and Agarkar's *Sudharak* fell foul of Mr. Tilak is the more remarkable when we remember how they must have realised their double game. Why should they all have clung up to Mrs. Ramabai, so unreasonably, so fanatically? Could they not have started an institution of their own, under some trustworthy management? Did they think that female education, even attended with grave risks of conversion to Christianity was so necessary? Apparently they did not, for on Aug. 13th, 1893, they publicly disowned all connection with the institution because it was "conducted as an avowedly proselytizing institution"*. They admitted that " during the past year or so, Pandita Ramabai departed from the lines of strict neutrality "; In trying, therefore to screen Pandita Ramabai from the

* The *Sharada Sadan* is now avowedly a Missionary institution, located at Kedgaon near Poona.

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righteous indignation of the public, they succeeded in making the cause of reform more unpopular and the breach between the Orthodox and the Reform parties still wider.

The same fateful year (1890) which witnessed the origin of the Age of Consent controversy and the *Sharada-Sadana* episode was marked by the commencement of a dispute still more ridiculous—a veritable storm in a tea cup. The responsibility of this dispute rests not with the Reformers but with the Orthodox party at Poona, the fanatical and foolish self-styled leaders of which charged 42 persons including Ranade, Tilak and Gokhale with having taken tea (Oct. 4th 1890), at the residence of a Missionary with the deliberate object of breaking caste and in the following two years (1891-92) this suit of the Orthodox party against these 42 gentlemen in the Court of Shree Shankaracharya was the principle subject of heated public controversy. The Reformers congratulated themselves on having an ally in Mr. Tilak whose resourceful Sanskrit scholarship stood them in good stead and helped them in getting very light punishment from the religious tribunal. It is noteworthy that Ranade thought it in no way humiliating to submit to the decision of the Court and for this conduct he was severely criticised by both the Orthodox and the Reform parties (the latter included some of his own ardent followers). Mr. Tilak justified the taking of *Prayashchitta*, and said that in such matters it is the duty of us all to be actuated by a spirit of compromise. He said "There is considerable resemblance between our difficulties in the Political field and those in the Social one;

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neither the political asdministration nor the structure of our society completely satisfies us. We want to reform both. The English administration as well as the Indian society have solid foundations; we are, therefore, bound to proceed with caution. Now, if people are willing to accept Political Reforms in a spirit of conciliation and compromise we fail to understand why we should like to proceed with Social Reform in an arrogant and defiant manner. If we are prepared to make compromise when the Parliament passes the Council's Act, 1892, why should we not do so with respect to questions likes widow-remarriage? Fanatical opposition might occassionally be successful, but as a rule, in political as well as social matters, fanaticism is suicidal" (*Kesari* 7th June 1892).

It will be news to this generation, accustomed to take for granted Mr. Tilak's hostility or indifference to Social Reform, that not only did he attend Social Conferences but also took active part in the proceedings. In the 4th Social Conference, held at Calcutta, (Dec. 1890), Mr. Tilak moved an amendment to a Resolution proposed by the late Mr. R. N. Mudholkar. The resolution condemned child-marriages and advocated adult-marriages. Mr. Tilak, who whole-heartedly supported the proposition wanted to delete an incorrect reference to the Shastras. In the Social Conference of 1891, held at Nagpur, Mr. Tilak suggested a bold amendment to the Resolution which advocated widow remarriages and called upon people to help the movement by doing their utmost. "How are the people to help"? asked Mr. Tilak. He said that mere lip-sympathy for widow remarriages would not do. These who sympathised

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with the cause ought to show their sympathy by attending not only the marriage-ceremony but the marriage feasts also. But the diplomatic leaders of the Conference, the professions of some of whom considerably differed from practice, wriggled themselves out of the difficulty, by adding the words "so far as possible" to "help the movement." To the resolution advocating sea-voyage, Mr. Tilak moved an amendment which laid stress upon vegetarian diet and *Prayaschitta*. He was supported by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

In 1889, the Social Reform leaders issued a circular together with printed copies of pledges which persons who believed in Social Reform had to sign. The circular expressly declared that the idea of resort to legislation, in matters social, was definitely given up. So Mr. Tilak gladly associated himself with this movement led by Ranade and other leading Reformers of the Bombay Presidency. But when the Government, showed their willingness to introduce the "Age of Consent Bill", the leaders of Social Reform did not hesitate to go back on their pledged word. The Social Conference of 1889 decided—altogether without consulting the signatories to the pledge—that the pledge bound not themselves alone but their children and executors as well!!! Mr. Tilak was utterly disgusted with such ridiculous resolutions. He admitted that the disfigurement of widow was unjustifiable but he had nothing but contempt and ridicule for those who seriously brought forward a resolution in the Conference requesting Government to make penal the disfigurement of widows. Such childish, perverse and unreasonable conduct was in his opinion extremely

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prejudical fo the cause itself. The greatest defect in the movement was, Mr. Tilak declared, want of courage and wand of sincerity. There was much empty noise. Nothing could be gained, he thought, by holding *National* Social Conferences. There was no country in the world, which resorted to such general condemnation of its customs and manners. Moreover, there are so many different castes and creeds in India that, excepting a very few common points, each section of the community must proceed in its own way along the path of reform. All reform is a growth from within and unless the people are sufficiently prepared by due assimilation of liberal ideas it is useless to march ahead. It was no use running the Social Conference on the lines of the National Congress. The latter was a deliberative assembly and could not be otherwise in the present circumstances. But it devolved upon the Reformers to appeal more to the people than to the Government. Action and not mere speech was the need of the day. A vigorous educative propaganda must be carried on. We must proceed step by step along the lines of least resistance; and above all the Reformers must in no way hurt the general pride of the people in their Social life and institutions. In the atmosphere of political serfdom, there are countless things that make us conscious of our weakness. What we want is self-confidence; and all reform that tends to make the nation more conscious of its shortcomings than of its strength, is not only undesirable but is positively mischievous.

It will thus be seen thère was something more than

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mere opportunism behind Mr. Tilak's attitude towards Social Reform nearly 30 years ago. It has been said that since his return from Mandalay he showed a broader outlook and he did not hesitate to assimilate "the more Catholic tendencies" of the time. But a careful perusal of the preceding pages will show that, even in his younger days, Mr. Tilak was a Social Reformer. His declaration of sympathy with the depressed classes, made on the eve of his departure to England was much appreciated. Here again Mr. Tilak's ideas about the best way of effecting reform prevented him from signing the manifesto which pledged the signatories to take every opportunity of breaking the bonds of untouchability. Mr. Tilak was no believer in violent Social Reform. Regarding the Patel-marriage-Bill, though he was in favour of some such legislation, he believed the Bill to be untimely and against the basic principles of the Hindu religion and society. Had he lived for a decade more, the country would have seen him playing the role of an active Social Legislator in the new Councils. In his youth, parasitical Social Reform was blended with lukewarm political spirit. Mr. Tilak gave a rub to both and became, in spite of an unpleasant episode the leader of the Orthodox Party in social as well as political matters. He lived, however to claim amongst his followers, persons of all castes and creeds, the Orthodox and the Reformers. The silent force of modern conditions has wrought a mighty revolution in the Social ideas of the people in spite of the fact that there has been no propaganda worth the name. All have moved with it; Tilak and Chandavarkar, the bigots of the Orthodox Party and the fire-

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eaters amongst Social Reformers. To-day's Social Reformer speaks quite a different language from that of Ranade and others. And the venerable Shastris and Pandits of the present time sanction things that would have shocked their own susceptibilities a generation ago. The evolution of Mr. Tilak's religious views, so bold and original—lies recorded in the pages of the Gita-Rahasya ; but the cruel hand of death has for ever prevented us from having an actual knowledge of the evolution of his ideas about the Hindu Society and the ways and means he had devised for its improvement. 'Ditcher' in the *Capital* (7th August 1920) remarks most thoughtfully;—

"There were epochs of thought in his personal biography ; and I think that in the zenith of his power, the fervour of his Hindu particularism began to cool and blend with the more Catholic tendencies of his time and conutry."

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CHAPTER V

TILAK AND THE CONGRESS—I

At the Poona Congress of 1895, when Gokhale wasa secretary of the Reception Committee, the ridiculous controversy started by Mr. Tilak, about letting the Social Conference have the use of the Congrss *Mandap* assumed disproportionate dimensions and Mr. Tilak triumphed momentarily. I do not know what he now (1915) thinks in his heart of hearts of the part, that he played in the matter, though he can, like the skilful advocate that he is, still put a fair complexion on it is necessary.

R. P. Paranjpye

THESE words, coming from the pen of a responsible Moderate leader show to what length party misunderstandings and party misrepresentations can go. To a certain type of people, Mr. Tilak has always appeared as the evil genius of the Congress, creating trouble, fomenting dissensions, recklessly courting Government wrath and leading the nation to the verge of disaster. They sum up Mr. Tilak's contribution to the Congress cause by mentioning the controversies at the Poona Congress and the fiasco at Surat. Only history will show how Mr. Tilak popularised the Congress movement during its infancy, how for that purpose his co-operation was sought, though his person was disliked, how he tried to infuse fresh blood into that body when the original 'firebrands' were degenerating into apathy, how he

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failed, how matters culminated in the unfortunate split at Surat, how the Congress dwindled into nothingness, and how Mr. Tilak's return (1916) to the Congress camp enhanced its prestige, power and popularity, until at last in the present moment it has been recognised as the non-official Parliament of the country.

Mr. Tilak joined the Congress in 1889,—only after his separation from the Deccan Education Society had become inevitable and imminent. "One thing at a time" was always his motto. If he sacrificed Social Reform to Politics, let us not forget that in the first ten years of his career he sacrificed Politics to Education. The principle of division of labour, introduced mainly by Mr. Tilak into our public life has at last been accepted and no man is now blamed for confining his attention to a particular branch of national activities.

The question is often asked "Why was not Mr. Tilak's name even proposed for the Presidentship of the Congress earlier?" His genius, learning, courage and sacrifices were generally admitted. What then came in his way? If Mr. Tilak was a junior, was not Mr. (Now Dr. Sir) Chandavarkar equally so in 1900? The answer is that the group of the politicians who held the Congress in leading strings was rather exclusive and would not agree to admit into the inner sanctuary an element of an alien type. The qualities that then were considered to belong to a statesman were eloquence of speech, supp eness of conduct, European habits and association (misnamed influence) with the Bureaucracy. Mr. Tilak had none of these 'rare' gifts. He possessed in a boundless

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measure the "too coommon" qualities,—fixity of purpose, inflexibility of will, boundless courage and enthusiasm, lofty idealism and tremendous earnestness. In the midst of holiday politicians claiming monopoly of wisdom and statesmanship, he was an impracticable enthusiast, to be tolerated as an unavoidable evil. His superabundant energies were fully utilized and six successive Provincial Conferences (all of them, except two held at Poona) were organised by him and by Mr. Namjoshi. But in the agenda of resolutions only a back seat was given to him and he was very rarely given the opportunity of moving important resolutions in the Congress. Mr. Tilak who cared more for work than for honour and display cheerfully did the part of the work entrusted to him. If the credit of popularising the Congress work in Maharashtra can be claimed by any one, it can be by Mr. Tilak. The Congress itself was an institution after western models; its leaders, so far at least as the land of the Marathas was concerned, were chiefly Government servants and pensioners, titled nonentities and self-seeking youngsters. Add to this; the controversies in connection with the Age of Consent Bill, *Sharada Sadan* and the Hindu-Mahomedan riots, controversies in which Mr. Tilak had to take a definitely hostile attitude towards the Reformers of the day. Still, at the call of the Congress, he threw aside his opposition to those people, and year in and year out, appealed to the general public to follow its lead and strengthen it by moral, intellectual and financial support. Had Mr. Tilak been the narrow-minded bigot he was represented to be he would never have supported the Congress Pro-

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paganda, headed that it was by most of the reformers and risked his popularity with the masses by championing a body which utilised his energy and ability but which showed very little recognition of his worth. All these circumstances must carefully be remembered if we would correctly understand the tangle of the Poona Congress (1895).

The real question before the Poona public of 1895 was not whether the Social Conference of that year should, according to the usual practice have been allowed to be held in the Congress *Mandap;* for had this been the real question at issue "the ridiculous controversy" said to have been "started by Mr. Tilak" would at once have been settled by Mr. Ranade's graceful and timely declaration that the Social Conference, which in truth was attended only by a small fraction of the Congress delegates and visitors would be held in some other place. When there is a childish dispute over a trifle, all the parties concerned are responsible, if it assumes "disproportionate dimensions." The question of holding or not holding the Social Conference in the Congress Pavilion was only a move in the bigger game, the deep-laid plot, of discrediting Mr. Tilak and humiliating him in the eyes of the Poona public and of the Congress at large. Nobody will say that the petty motives of jealousy which moved lesser men inspired leaders like Ranade. It will, however have to be admitted that had Ranade risen to the full height which the occasion demanded much heart-burning would have been avoided. But he was powerless to assert his will against the clique that surrounded him. It was humourously called "The Tilak Persecution Society."

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Looked at, from an impersonal standpoint, the differences between Tilak and Ranade have been summarized by the former as follows :—

"Every one*, whether orthodox or heterodox, reformer or reactionary should join in and support the Congress movement. A Congress in Poona cannot be regarded a success unless the majority of the people in Poona join it enthusiastically. We must approach the trader, the artizan and the working man as well as the educated classes and make all of them subscribe to the Congress fund and in order to do this we must appeal to each of them in a manner, so as not to offend their susceptibilities unnecessarily. The Congress eventually aims at being a Congress of the people and the object cannot be achieved, unless, every year, an effort is made to approach more and more the classes that have not taken hitherto much interest in the movement. * * * If the masses are drawn to the Congress, it is possible that they may not lend their support directly or indirectly to the cause of the Social Conference. It is this apprehension that makes the friends of Social Reform restrict the scope of their work for the Congress within a safe narrow circle. * * One (party) wishes to draw to the Congress as large a portion of the public as it possibly can, irrespective of the question of Social Reform ; the other does not wish to go much beyond the circle of the friends of reform. * * * The real point of issue is whether * * the Congress in Poona is to be a Congress of the people or of a particular section of it.

* From a letter to the *Times of India* (Quoted in the *Mahratta*, November 3, 1895).

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* * If the friends of Social Reform are not willing to respect public opinion, which I regret to say, some of them are prepared to characterise as brute force—I for one am not * * prepared to make a split in the Congress camp by persisting in claiming a recognition of the views of the majority of the public * * ."

When the work of the Congress was to be commenced, the Reformers were in a great glee, as, happening to command a majority in the Standing Congress Committee, they expected to carry things in their own way. But Mr. Tilak soon made it clear to them that he would be no party to such a manifestly unjust arrangement. They, therefore had to set up a working Committee consisting of an equal number of members belonging to both the parties. How to neutralise this " concession " was a question which seriously occupied some mischievous spirits of the Reform Party and they hit upon a very ingenious trick by means of which they hoped either to place Mr. Tilak in an awkward situation or to create a split in his party, which would give numerical superiority to the Reformers in the Working Committee. They stirred up the fury of the ultra-orthodox section of the people by constantly boasting that the Social Conference, so disliked by the majority—would be held in the Congress pavilion in the teeth of their opposition. The result was that Sardar Balasaheb Natu, with others belonging to the extreme wing of the Orthodox Party issued a circular, demanding that the Social Conference should not be held in the Congress *Mandap*. Thus a split was created in the Orthodox Camp.

Regarding the relations of the Social Conference with the National Congress, a contemporary paper wrote as

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follows :—" At the Calcutta Congress (1886) that shrewd and experienced old Parsee, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, the President dwelt upon the subject both in his opening speech and during the discussion ; and decided against the Congress having anything to do with Social Reform, directly or indirectly.

" But the hot-headed reformers, threw the words of the old Parsi patriot, and the sense of the Calcutta Congress to the winds. At Madras they tried their game next year and with the assistance of a few addle-pated Madrasee reformers succeeded in obtaining their wish ; and after the Congress, was held within its pandals the first Social Conference. * *

Since 1887 to 1894, the Social Conference has held its sittings as the tail of the Congress."*

So much for wisdom ; now let us see how fanaticism bred fanaticism. When the controversies over the Age of Consent Bill were at their height, the late Mr. Hume, "father" of the Indian National Congress declared that he would sever his connection from the Congress if he found the majority of the leading Congressmen opposed to the Bill. This unreasonable and overbearing conduct naturally excited many Congressmen and it was said that if acquiescence in hasty and mischievous measures of Social Reform was to be the price of the support of Mr. Hume to India's political demands—well, Indians could afford to do without him. Such reckless language naturally made people suspicious and as early as 1891 many people expressed a desire that the Social Conference should not be held in

* The *Hope* (Calcutta).

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the Congress pavilion. If responsible leaders like Hume could give vent to such thoughtless remarks, can we blame Sardar Balasaheb Natu for having given such an undue importance to the site of the Social Conference?

Mr. Tilak's attitude regarding the dispute about the Social Conference was perfectly reasonable. As early as July 23rd, 1895, he openly declared in the *Kesari* that those who made the holding or not holding of the Social Conference in the Congress *Mandap* the condition of their financial support to the Congress were not the friends of the Congress. He proposed that the dispute should be decided by the Congress itself or by the Reception Committee. A better solution of this question could not be imagined and yet the cry was kept up that Mr. Tilak was supporting the extreme wing of the orthodox party headed by Sardar Natu! A side-light on the sincerity of this cry is thrown by the fact that some of the Reformers (e.g. Kashinathpant Natu, Keshavrao Patvardhan) refused to contribute to the Congress fund unless positively assured that the Social Conference would be held in the Congress pavilion.

Another cry in the same game of anyhow discrediting Mr. Tilak was that his attention to the Congress work was perfunctory. People were "shocked" to find that the pavilion was not ready in September. Mr. Tilak reminded them it could be done only after the rainy season was over. "What about chairs" said they. Mr. Tilak told them that though the chairs bore the brand of "Australian chairs" still they could always be had in Bombay at a week's notice. "And the volunteers"? Well, the volunteers were not required before the middle of December; still, written complaints were

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made to the Working Committee. Mr. Tilak had secured the site, prepared plans and estimates, sent round men and letters for subscription, actually collected some money. For all this and other work, he was praised by Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar who expressed his surprise that Poona should have commenced work in right earnest so early. And yet the reformers of the Working Committee wanted to sit in judgment upon Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak showed how they themselves had shirked work and had thrown all the burden upon him. He produced the report of the Working Committee of the preceding year's (1894) Congress at Madras and challenged his opponents to compare that work with his. Discomfitted, the reformers had to submit to passing a resolution expressing their satisfaction at Mr. Tilak's work.

Discomfiture, however did not bring repentance. Taking advantage of Mr. Tilak's temporary absence from Poona, they made attempts to remove the Congress Office from his residence. The Sub-Committees were swamped with reformers and instead of adhering to the original resolution, fixing one vote for every gentleman who paid Rs. 50 and upwards, it was decided (Oct. 18) that those who paid upwards of Rs. 50 were entitled to vote not only on their own behalf but separately for heir wives and children! A more ridiculous resolution cannot be imagined and this the reformers could tarry through only on account of the split in the Orthocox party. And yet Mr. Tilak was supposed to have deen in league with Sardar Natu!

Mr. Tilak exposed all these tactics in a circular letter

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to all the leading Congressmen and Associations in the mofussil. He also exposed them at a public meeting held at Poona on October 22nd. As the Reformers' majority in the Committee had usurped all the functions, it was resolved at this meeting that a new Reception Committee on an equitable basis should be formed. The Reformers considered this meeting to be nothing more than a display of "brute force" and hence appealed to the Standing Committee to settle the dispute. The Standing Committee decided that both the parties should be represented by two Secretaries each, that Bombay should contribute three Secretaries and that this Committee of seven should carry on all the Congress work. Great pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Tilak to accept this arrangement; and when at last Mr. Tilak did consent to it he quickly found that it was all imaginary and that the *status quo* was maintained by the Reformers. Disgusted beyond measure by all these tactics, Mr. Tilak took the only course left to him and resigned his secretaryship on Nov. 4th.

The Reformers were delighted; and yet they felt unhappy. They felt as uncomfortable and suspicious as Macbeth when he had got rid of Banquo. What if Mr. Tilak made a row? Police aid was sought and got because "the attitude of a section of the Hindu Community in Poona is hostile to the Congress." The repeated advice which Mr. Tilak gave to the public, appealing to them to stand by the Congress, failed to diminish this feverish anxiety. "Suppose, the *Mandap* is set on fire by Mr. Tilak's emissaries. What would become of the Congress?" These foolish fears haunted them like a nightmare. Still, with dogged and malig-

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nant obstinacy they continued their activities against Mr. Tilak, chiefly through a newspaper subsidized by the Reception Committee. There is no knowing how the unpleasantness of the situation would have been aggravated had not the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, President-elect of the Congress, himself a staunch Social Reformer, set matters right. He requested Mr. Ranade not to press the question of the Social Conference. He even threw out broad hints that if the disputes at Poona could not be amicably settled he would refuse to preside. This courageous and statesmanlike conduct compelled Mr. Ranade to be reasonable and to make a belated declaration that he would not try to hold the Social Conference in the Congress pavilion. Had he made the declaration earlier and on his own initiative, his reputation for statesmanship would have been redeemed; but his declaration made practically under compulsion, together with the continuance by his minions of their disingenuous tactics kept the situation almost unchanged. The offer of co-operation, repeatedly made by Mr. Tilak was spurned. The Reformers, conscious of their own unpopularity were afraid to bear the light of the day. And yet a public meeting to elect Poona delegates was to be held. Bowing to the inevitable, they convened a public meeting (20th December). The hall selected for the purpose was very small and the announcement of the meeting was made very late, presumably to outwit Mr. Tilak's partisans. But long before the time of the meeting the opponents of the Reformers, alert as ever had packed the hall. With a clever manœuvre they elected their own president. This perplexed the Reformers and as a mark

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of protest, some 15 gentlemen including Prof. Gokhale left the meeting.

In spite of the worst fears of the reformers, the Congress was a brilliant success. The reception accorded to the Thunderer of Bengal was simply grand. Enthusiasm was catching. After the Congress was over Sardar Baba Maharaj, a friend of Mr. Tilak was 'at Home' to the Congress President and the Congress delegates. Then the party was led to attend a huge meeting in connection with the Shivaji Memorial. Mr. Banerjea made a thrilling speech and exhorted the people to join the Shivaji festival inaugurated by Mr. Tilak.

It is so very unpleasant to rake up from the forgotten past an episode of discord. But when we find attempts made to discredit Mr. Tilak for imaginary sins it is necessary to apportion the blame and decide where truth and fairness lay. Had Mr. Tialk's critics contented themselves with asserting that he disapproved of the holding of the Social Conference on the lines on which it was held, nobody would have cared to criticise such remarks for the simple reason that even leading Reformers of those days like the late Hon. Rao Bahadur Nulkar thought pretty much in the same way. Mr. Tilak's supposed opposition to the Reform movement or to the Social Conference had absolutely nothing to do with the insignificant question of the holding of the Social Conference in the Congress pavilion. If this petty question assumed "disproportionate dimensions," the responsibility lies rather on those who, not caring for the fair name of their city were willing to vent their spite upon the devoted head of Mr. Tilak and discredit

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him in the eyes of his educated countrymen. The attempt partially succeeded. For though outside the Bombay Presidency, these disputes failed create any impression still in Maharashtra the estrangement between the Reformers and the Orthodox party became complete; and what is more important, the Bombay leaders who had taken very little part in the Social questions of the day were considerably influenced by the controversies owing to their association with the Reformers at Poona. Here then was sown the seed of that misunderstanding between the Lion of Bombay and the Lion of Poona, which unfortunately was destined to bear fruit at Surat in 1907. And all this could have been avoided by a single tactful and timely move on the part of Ranade.

In conclusion, we may note one or two incidents in the life of the Congress which have a direct bearing on the present narrative. We have already seen that in the 2nd Congress at Calcutta, the Grand Old Man of India, keenly aware of the danger of mixing up Social Reform with Politics, declared the former as lying outside the scope of the Congress. Not that he did not favour Social Reform, but he was particular about the unity of Congressmen. The third Congress under the Presidency of the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji did not pass a resolution in favour of Cow protection, simply to conciliate Mahomedan opinion, in spite of the fact that the President himself and all the delegates were in favour of protecting cows. If then the third Congress could leave out one important resolution—a question of principle—for the sake of unity, could not Ranade have tried

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to secure unity by not pressing the *Pandal* question? Evidently, therefore party feeling got the better of patriotism. The smooth working of the Reception Committee at the Calcutta Congress of 1896 was endangered by bitter quarrels between the Brahmoes and the Orthodox party and a breach over religious questions seemed imminent. Here too, the principle of keeping the Congress aloof from Social and religious controversies was forgotten. At the Madras Congress of 1894, some Purists of the Social Reform party wanted to boycott certain delegates whose morals had become the subject of much public discussion and their extravagance was checked by the judicious and tactful conduct of the President who pointed out that though Gladstone was unwilling to negotiate with Parnell as the leader of the Irish Nationalists, still he had no objection to allow Parnell to work in the interests of Ireland. It will thus be seen that the Poona disputes in 1895, did not form an isolated episode in the history of the Congress. A political organisation that allows its cohesion to be endangered on side-issues betrays its own interests and plays into the hands of the common opponent. Viewed from this standpoint, the ridiculous controversies over the pandal question at Poona appear not merely imprudent but positively suicidal, irrespective of the responsibility of this party or that; and a careful perusal of the preceding pages will convince the reader that Mr. Tilak's contribution to these controversies was entirely involuntary.

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CHAPTER VI

THE HONOURABLE AND———!

An Additional Membership is, as I view it, no sop or gag intended to stop honest and fair criticism. But if it is, I should certainly give it up rather than consent to draw the curtain over the gross negligence or the palpable errors of officials, however high they may be.

B. G. Tilak

On August 7th, 1895, Mr. Tilak, elected by an overwhelming majority by the District Local Boards of the Central Division, took, in the Legislative Council, the customary oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress. Two years later he was standing as an under-trial prisoner in the High Court of Judicature, to be punished of disaffection, in spite of his protests and in anticipation of a new interpretation of the term! The first event did not ensnare him, nor was his life-work paralysed by the second.

During the course of these two years, the Council met for 8 'long' days and worked for less than 36 hours. As usual pertinent interpellations were asked to which pertinent or impertinent answers were returned. The discussion on the financial statement occupied much time. And the residue was devoted to the following questions :—

1. The Bombay Civil Courts Act, 1869 Amendment Bill.

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2. The Rules for conducting the business of the Council.
3. A Bill to amend the Karachi Port Trust Act, 1886 (withdrawn).
4. A Bill to amend the Bombay Boiler Inspection Act, 1891.
5. A Bill to amend the Bombay General Clauses Act, 1886.
6. A Bill to amend Act VIII of 1870 (an act for the prevention of the murder of female infants).
7. A Bill to further amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888.

A barren epoch, to be sure! Under the regime of the Morley-Minto Reforms, members could at least spread, peacock-like, the glorious plumage of their knowledge and oratory. They could at least show off their grasp of economic problems and administrative details and could count upon moral effect of their work,—moral effect, not certainly upon the Bureaucracy but upon their countrymen. But in the Councils established under the Act of 1892, neither actual nor moral effect was possible. Amendments, here and there, of the Government Bills and a desultory discussion on the Budget, after " it had ceased to be a Budget " and " had been sanctioned by the Government of India "—that was all that could be done. Even the Bureaucracy confessed that the " examination of the contents of the Budget was little better than a post-mortem dissection "; and though Mr. Tilak retorted by pointing out that " we could as well dissect a living as a dead Budget," still he had to submit to the inevitable. Under the flow of smooth and cour-

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teous words, the representatives of the Bureaucracy hardly failed to be sarcastic and overbearing. Members like the Hon. Mr. Sayani, who read carefully prepared manuscript speeches were " respectfully " requested to save their " physical labour " of reading them, by submitting to the Council printed copies, which " might then be taken as read." The Hon. Messrs. Javerilal and Setalwad were blamed for turning the Council into a " Circus," in which annually they were " wont to trot out their hobby horses." With such limitation and environments, it was natural that the output of the work of the representatives of the people was dis-appointingly small. Equally with his University fellowship* or the Municipal Councillorship, Mr. Tilak's membership of the Legislative Council failed to add one inch to his worth or one grain to his usefulness. It was simply a trifling accident of his life.

In several respects, Mr. Tilak possessed many of the qualities that go to make a great legislator. He had in him that unique combination of the idealist and the realist which is the *sine qua non* of a successful law-giver. His grasp of general principles, his mastery over petty and intricate details, his patience in investigation, his breadth of vision, his legal acumen, ready wit and resourceful intellect—all these qualities would have taken his name down to posterity as the maker of

* In January 1894, Mr. Tilak was elected a fellow of the Bombay University. In May 1895, he headed the poll at the general elections to the Poona City Municipality. He resigned his membership of the City Municipality in 1897. After his conviction (1897) he was deprived of his University fellowship by the Government of Bombay

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salutary laws. But like Sir Pherozeshah, he too was destined to play the *role* of a mere critic of the administration.

In spite of the limitations imposed upon his usefulness, Mr. Tilak worked in the Council with his usual ardour. Conscious though he was that all his criticism would very little affect the actual working of the administration, he wanted to put the whole Bureaucratic machine under his intellectual microscope. He was not content, therefore, with copies of the Financial Statement and of the Budget but called for the Advocate-General's Budget Notes. But the officials did not consider it worth their while to grant his request. Apparently they thought that the Budget which formed "a printed document of close upon 200 pages" and the financial statement which fitted "a pamphlet of fair dimensions and touched on every head, whether of revenue or expenditure," ought to satisfy Mr. Tilak.

The originality of his genius showed itself in the Council. Not satisfied like other speakers with merely comparing the year's (1895-96) Budget with the Revised Estimates of 1894-95 and the Actuals of 1893-94, he proceeded to consider it in a true scientific spirit by examining "how far the revenue has increased during the last 25 years and what portion of it has been devoted to the material development of the Province." This led to the conclusion that "the revenue of the Presidency has increased by about 5½ crores of rupees during the last 25 years. Land, Forest, Abkari have all been made yield as much as possible even to the inconvenience of the people; and yet out of the revenues so

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realised only a small portion has been devoted to the material improvements of the Province."

Mr. Tilak was not afraid to beard the lion in his own den. Referring to the cess on *Abkari* revenue, recently commuted, he asked whether "Government by an Executive act can repeal an Act of the Legislature." It was impossible for the Government members to dislodge him from his positions, nor did they dare hurl at him their arrows of ridicule or banter. Unlike many members of the Council, he was extremely sparing of compliments to the Official Members. He never gave praise, he never sought it. His speeches were severely impersonal and unrhetorical, studded with facts, masterly handled. What struck his hearers was the breadth and originality of his view-point and the facility with which he strode through the intricacies of statistics. The success of his speeches lay in the luminous way in which he used figures without quoting them frequently. This was the case with his writings also.

Mr. Tilak's short connection with the Legislative Council came to an end in 1897, when he resigned his seat. (after the criminal prosecution for sedition had been launched against him.) Among his colleagues in the Council, were the Hon. (Sir) Chimanlal H. Setalwad, the late Sir P. M. Mehta and the late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.

The year 1896-97 deserves to be recorded in shining letters of gold in the life of Mr. Tilak, because it brings out in bold relief that quality of his heart, which, though it forms the basis of his character, is generally overlooked by superficial observers, dazzled by his militant personality—we mean his genuine philanthrophy. Great as was the intellect of Mr. Tilak, his heart was

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greater still. The terrible famine and distress of 1877 moved him as nothing else did and was, as we have seen mainly responsible for fixing the course of his life. The outbreak of famine and the irruption of the plague in this year (1896-97) shocked him and he knew no rest while labouring for the suffering thousands. Those who saw him at work during this eventful period recognised how his very soul was on fire.

In ordinary times and under normal circumstances popular aid and co-operation on occassions of famine or epidemics are welcome to Government. But in the peculiar circumstances of India, such co-operation is sometimes discouraged by the Bureaucrats who consider the masses as their own property and would keep them from the 'evil' influence of the educated classes. When terrible famine broke out in 1896, Mr. Tilak was the centre of all popular activities directed towards the mitigation of every kind of suffering, Lord Elgin, the then Viceroy was busy with his round of visits to Indian States, the lesser European Officials were indifferent and apathetic and the Indian Officers like the Mamlatdars were, as usual, more desirous of collecting the revenue anyhow and of being patted on the back by their superiors, than of doing their duty by the poor *ryots*. The Missionaries had their own axe to grind. The public opinion in England was in the beginning ignorant of the terrible state of things. Later on, it was roused enough and some help to the famine-stricken was offered. But the Indian Government was at first rather unwilling to accept it.

Mr. Tilak's programme included 4 items. (1) He sent round the presidency his lieutenants to collect informa-

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tion regarding famine conditions. His ob'ect was to check the inacuracies of the reports submitted by Mamlatdars to their superiors. (2) These lieutenants discussed measures of relief with local leaders, with a view to formulate constructive suggestions to Government. The Government had no doubt the guidance of the Famine Relief Code ; but evidently Mr. Tilak had greater faith in local bodies and leaders. The next two items concerned the people more directly. (3) It usually happened that most of the villagers, ignorant of the concessions promised by the Relief Code, sold away their lands or cattle to pay off the Government dues ; Mr. Tilak's 'emissaries', therefore, acquainted the people with their rights, explained the relevant sections of the Relief Code and distributed leaflets or pamphlets containing abstracts of the important sections of the Relief Code. (4) Having thus educated the people in the knowledge of their rights, they asked them not to be cowards and not to pay the Government dues at the cost of their lives or property. It will be seen that the agitation imparted the necessary knowledge to the people and exhorted them to show manliness ; and by constructive suggestions it compelled the Government to insist on accuracy of reports and strict enforcement of rules. Week after week, the *Kesari* devoted all its columns to the discussion of the situation ; "Will you" Mr. Tilak passionately asked, "when the Queen desires that none should die, when the Governor declares that all should l ve and the Secretary of State is prepared to go in for debt, if necessary—will you kill yourself by timidity and starvation ? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means. But if you have

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not, will you sell your things away only to avoid the supposed wrath of subordinate Government officers? Can you not be bold, even when in the grip of death?" This terrible unmanliness shocked him most. "We can stand any number of famines," he said "but what shall we do, with sheepish people?" "Had such a famine broken out in England and had the Prime Minister been as apathetic as is Lord Elgin, his Government would have, in less than a week, tumbled down like ninepins." He deplored and condemned food-riots. "Why loot the Bazars", he used to say "go to the Collector and tell him to give you work and food. That is his duty."

Really speaking the Government ought He have hailed the vigorous co-operation of Mr. Tilak. He was making useful and constructive suggestions to them, through the memorials of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* and the columns of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. But it was evident that the heaven-born Bureaucrats disliked the splendid growth of organisation under Mr. Tilak's inspiring guidance, because the 'new spirit' meant inconvenience to them. They found the plastic clay hardening into rock. The people were firm, not militant; law abiding, not aggressive, still the authorities deemed it necessary to put down the New Spirit.

The first attempt in this direction was made at a village *Khattalwad* (Dec. 13, 1896) where Prof. Sathe, of the Maharashtra College, Poona, specially sent by Mr. Tilak for propaganda work, had the unique honour and opportunity of delivering a lecture in the presence of the Assistant Collector and a *posse* of soldiers. This evidently was an attempt to reduce the *morale* of the

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people and to cow down the lecturer. But the attempt failed and Prof. Sathe made a spirited lecture in spite of the intimidation conveyed by the presence of an armed force. Prof. Sathe was tried at Alibag for abetting several Forest and Abkari offences. The prosecution failed. It was soon followed by another. This time the victims were three gentlemen of Thana, who had done public service by issuing a leaflet in which provisions of the Famine Code were explained. This prosecution too was a fiasco. In the next prosecution, a Mr. Apte was convicted and sentenced to simple imprisonment for one year; and soon after, the *Sarvajanik Sabha* which had led the agitation for the mitigation of the suffering caused by the famine was, on some flimsy pretext, declared to have forfeited its *right* to petition the Government.

Of all the agitations led by Mr. Tilak, this one was the most systematic and organised. It was an agitation which all men understood, which allowed very little room for party squabbles, and which the Government was afraid to put down. Combining the strength of simplicity and unity and suffering from little opposition, it became irresistible. It opened a new vista before Mr. Tilak. He saw immense possibilities in such well-organised agitations; and he wanted the Congress to undertake an agitation, that would reach even the most distant hamlet. Upto this time, Mr. Tilak was satisfied with—or rather he acquiesced in—the methods of Congrss leaders. But now he wanted a radical change. Referring to the proceedings of the 12th Congress held at Calcutta he said: (*Kesari*, January 12th, 1896)

" For the last twelve years we have been shouting

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hoarse, desiring that the Government should hear us. But our shouting has no more affected the Government than the sound of a gnat. Our rulers disbelieve our statements or profess to do so. Let us now try to force our grievances into their ears by strong constitutional means. We must give the best political education possible to the ignorant villagers. We must meet them on terms of equality, teach them their rights and show how to fight constitutionally. Then only will the Government realise that to despise the Congress is to despise the Indian Nation. Then only will the efforts of the Congress leaders be crowned with success. Such a work will require a large body of able and single-minded workers, to whom Politics would not mean some holiday recreation but an every-day duty to be performed with strictest regularity and utmost capacity."

Closely in the heels of the Famine followed the Plague which has till now exacted the heavy toll of one crore of Indian lives. The fell nature of the disease and its sudden irruption created a consternation which was aggravated by the helplessness of the medical science in arresting its spread. The medical advisers of the Government failed, at first, to take any serious notice of the disease and when at last its looming shadow terrified the European nations and it became evident that not only had the plague become really virulent but also threatened to scare away European trade, strictest sanitary measures were devised to stem its tide. But trouble arose in the execution of these measures. Actuated, no doubt, by an earnest desire o stamp out this unwelcome guest in minimum time,

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the Government officers rigorously enforced measures for the safety of the people. They however failed to temper their rigour by enlisting popular sympathy. They neither sought public support and co-operation nor did they welcome it when spontaneously offered. Such benevolent execution of precautionary measures required a higher type of imagination than the Bureaucrants could command and while men like Lord Sandhurst sincerely wished the least interference with the conveniences of the people, the plague measures actually created greater terror than the epidemic itself.

To save themselves from the epidemic, many so-called leaders of the people left Poona to a safer retreat. But Mr. Tilak did not do so. He stood by the suffering multitude, shared their misfortunes, helped them, started a Plague Hospital and did his best to interpret the difficulties of the people to the Government and the wishes of the Government to the people. The conduct of Mr. Tilak in thus co-operating with the Government was strongly criticised by many of the followers of Ranade and insinuations were recklessly made that the Lion of Poona was ensnared by the additional membership of the Legislative Council. The time soon came when the pseudo-lions of Poona humiliated themselves before the British Lion, while Mr. Tilak refused to be cowed down by the terrors of repression.

For an effective crusade against the Plague, the relief work was taken—without any semblance of law or justice—out of the hands of the Municipality and was continued by a special body, called the Plague Committee, a purely European association headed by the " sullen and suspicious " Mr. Rand. With the name of this

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self-willed, unsympathetic and unlucky administrator is associated the segration-work, with its inevitable corollary of the house-to-house search-parties. Afraid and terror-stricken, the people were, it was thought, unwilling to communicate to the proper authorities plague-attacks of inmates in their houses or to allow their ailing relatives to be taken for treatment to the hospitals. But the administrators of the plague-policy never put themselves the question " Why." Mr. Tilak showed how " as soon as a patient is removed to the hospital, his relations are taken to the segregation camp, some of the infected property is destroyed and his house is kept " practically " open without anybody to take care of the property." He also pointed out that people were more ready to send patients to the hospital started by him and to pay for them than allow them to be taken to the Government Hospital, which was a charitable institution. The question resolved itself into " how to make the work popular " and with this end in view he made a number of constructive suggestions. But it was not in the nature of the officers appointed, to appreciate the popular view-point and accept suggestions, most of which they could have adopted without sacrificing the essentials of their policy. Even then trouble could have been avoided, had the British soldiers not been appointed to conduct the searches. Mr. Tilak held that " howsoever a British soldier may be useful on the battlefield, he is not suited for a work of this kind " and suggested that the work " can be equally, if not more efficiently, carried on by native agency working under Civil Officers than by British soldiers whose ignorance of native manners

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very often leads them to unnecessarily offend the susceptibilities of the people." But this advice was unheeded.

It is unnecessary to dwell here upon what was rightly or wrongly described as the "reign of terror" at Poona and its echoes in England, so sadly associated with the name of Prof. (afterwards Hon. Mr.) Gokhale whose statements regarding the outrages made by British soldiers exasperated the Government and who immediately on his return to India was induced to tender an "abject" apology and withdraw not only those charges which for want of evidence he could not substantiate, but *all* his criticism regarding the plague measures. For a time the Plague subsided but the discontent its administration had aroused, emboldened one fanatic to seek redress in the murder of Mr. Rand. The name of this fanatic was Damodar Chapekar, who after a number of unsuccessful attempts to track Mr. Rand at last got hold of him, on the night of June 22, 1897, when Mr. Rand was returning from the Government House where he had gone to attend the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. In the darkness of night, Chapekar shot Mr. Rand dead. His accomplice heard an exclamation from the carriage which Lieutenant Ayerst was riding and "thinking possibly that they were discovered" killed Lieutenant Ayerst also! These shocking murders created an atmosphere of panic and consternation which was cleverly exploited by Mr. Tilak's enemies to induce the Government to embark on a campaign of repression.

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The "panacea" to plague was soon discovered in the "innoculation." Mr. Tilak frankly disbelieved in the efficacy of a remedy which required the injection of a poison at every visitation of the plague. He complained of the low vitality of the people, due to poverty and starvation, and declared that unless that was remedied, such epidemics were bound to recur. Partly as a result of Mr. Tilak's opposition, the Government were wise enough not to resort to compulsion with respect to inoculation. They simply tried to make it "popular by various means."

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CHAPTER VII

THE LOKAMANYA

My position among the people entirely depends upon my character; and if I am cowed down by the prosecution, * * * living in Maharashtra is as good as living in the Andamans * * * We are incapable of nourishing any sinster feeling against the BritishRule and it is thus impossible for any of us to be convicted of such a heinous charge as sedition. Such risks however, we must take * * They are the risks of our profession * * Their (the Government's) object is to humiliate the Poona leaders, and I think in me they will not find a "kutchha reed". . . . Then you must remember that beyond a certain stage we are all servants of the people. You will be betraying and disappointing them, if you show a lamentable want of courage at a critical time.

B. G. Tilak to Motilal Ghose.

THE cruel murder of Mr. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst threw the Anglo-Indian community into a state of panic. The psychological day of the Jubilee selected by the murderer for his deed, raised suspicion in the Anglo-Indian mind that the murder was the result of a deep-laid plot by the Poona Brahmins. When the murderer made good his escape, the Anglo-Indians vented their feelings of revenge in an attack on the Indian press which, by its "seditious writings," was considered to have fanned the people into frenzy. They clamoured for a very wide use of Sec. 124A of the Penal Code. They declared their misgivings about the suitability

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of that section for trying subtle writers and speaker- and called for a mere stringent definition of sedition. They fell foul of Lord Sandhurst for not having vetoed the very recent election of Mr. Tilak to the Legislative Council. They feared* " lest in proclaiming that disloyalty is no disqualification for nomination by Government, to places of honour, Government themselves should make good citizenship at a discount." Extracts from the Poona press were published and though the Anglo-Indian papers modestly said that it was for them to * " establish a direct connection between this wild teaching and that deplorable event" still, *" the atmosphere which such teaching must have created is precisely the atomsphere in which violence to individuals, hatred of Government and widespread contempt for law and authority would necessarily grow as in a forcing house."

The position of Mr. Tilak in the months immediately preceding the murder of Messrs. Rand and Ayerst was unenviable. His co-operation with the Bureaucracy had been bringing him slings from the vernacular papers belonging to the party led by Ranade and Gokhale. At the same time, every word of his speeches and writings was sifted and translated by an ever-watchful Government and the malicious Anglo-Indian Press. Some of his simplest and most innocent remarks excited undeserving suspicion. When on the occassion of the Shivaji Festival, he had simply defended Afzulkhan's assassination by Shivaji, he was considered to have preached political murder. When he said " No copper plate *was* given to *Mlenchhas* (Mahomedans) to

* From the *Times of India*.

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rule over Hindustan, one "Justice," who presumably was a 'Native' and whose ignorance of Marathi was therefore unpardonable, quoted this sentence in the *Times of India* mistranslating it to apply to the Mahomedans and Christians as well and asked whether it did not amount to an incitement to sedition against the Govenment. When Mr. Tilak drew the attenton of the leaders of Poona to the "futility of mere clamour against the high-handedness of the authorities" and suggested that the best course for the Poona leaders was to have remained in the city (Poona) and formed vigilance-committees for each street and afforded pecuniary help to the private plague hospital, the *Times of India* quoting the remark after the murder said "Though we do not offer any suggestions as to the view that a Jury might be persuaded to take of the Hon. Mr. Tilak's discourse on the 'futility of mere clamour' against Mr. Rand and his assistants, still some one with a pistol in his hand seems to have been in hearty agreement with the Honourable Member's distrust in the efficacy of 'mere clamour'."

The sequence of dates also was considered to be significant. On May 11th 1897, Mr. Tilak published the doctrine of the "futility of mere clamour." On June 12th he supplemented it by justifying Shivaji's murder of Afzulkhan. At the same time he declared that "no copperplate has been given to the *Mlenchhas* (applicable equally to Mahomedans and Christians) by God to rule over India." If all these statements be put together, "do they not" said the average Anglo-Indian, "amount clearly to a plea of political murder?" Lord Sandhurst was however saner. He did not think so. That is why

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after the murders of Rand and Ayerst he sanctioned the election of Mr. Tilak to the Legislative Council. But "the unreasoning panic into which the Anglo-Indian community was driven by such malicious attacks and its unfortunate success in inflaming the English people, forced the hands of the Secretary of State and Lord Sandhurst had to take measures which, it is believed, he would never have sanctioned, if he had remained a free agent.*"

So excited were the feelings of the Anglo-Indian community that even "on the brink of a gaping grave giving a peep into the eternity" "the pride of the Europeans left no room in their hearts for better emotions" and persons like Dr. Cawasji Jehangir, once Sheriff of Bombay, were on the occassion of Mr. Rand's burial insulted and refused admission by the police at the cemetery. A Parsi lady who had attended the cemetery for the purpose of putting a wreath on the coffin of Mr. Rand was also not admitted. The threatening speech of Mr. Lamb, the then Collector of Poona, foretelling that people would "find themselves undergoing an experience to which they had not been accustomed" was another straw indicative of the direction of the wind. A punitive police was imposed on the Poona Municipality. Prof. Gokhale, immediately on his return from England and while yet ashore, had to concede "the best part of his attention" to the head of the Bombay Police—the result being a humiliating apology tendered by him to Lord Sandhurst, the Plague Committee and the British Soldiers. Mr. Tilak as the

* Sir Sankaran Nair's Presidential speech at the Congress 1897).

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editor of *Kesari* was arrested on 27th July 1897 at Bombay where he had gone to seek legal redress against the reckless statements made against him by the *Times of India*. The printer of the *Kesari* was also arrested. The Editors of the *Poona Vaibhav*, the *Modavritta*, the *Pratod* were also arrested. The Editors of the *Dnyanprakash* and *Sudharak* bent their knees and saved themselves from prosecution. The Natu Brothers were deported under the notorious regulations of 1818. Altogether it appeared that a 'reign of terror' had been fully established at Poona and that the Collector's threat had been literally carried out.

After a series of preliminary proceedings Mr. Tilak was set free on bail by Mr. Justice Tyabji on August 4th. The conclusion his Lordship arrived at was that "the articles in question, * * about which he desired to say clearly * * that he gave no positive opinion one way or the other, were not necessarily of such a character as to lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the man responsible for such articles must be convicted upon them." One of the incriminating articles was a poem —the production of a poetaster—supposed to be addressed by Shivaji to the Mahrattas exhorting them to be up and doing and the other was the report of Mr. Tilak's speech at the close of the Shivaji Festival defending Shivaji's murder of Afzulkhan . On this slender foundation was the edifice of the prosecution constructed —a rhetorical piece in poetry from some obscure poet and a report of a speech defending Shivaji's greatness and insisting upon his claim to be recognised as a national hero.

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At the Bombay High Court, the trial commenced on August 8th, 1897 before Mr. Justice Strachey and a Special Jury of nine of whom six were Europeans, unacquainted with the Marathi language. "What with the tendencies of the times, the present temper of the European community in India, the prejudice excited against the Mahrattas of Poona since the murders of Mr. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst"* the verdict was practically a foregone conclusion. "The case was one of the greatest importance and involved the settlement of grave issues. It was too much to expect so young and inexperienced a judge as Mr. Arthur Strachey to rise equal to the importance of the issues before him"*. Had the trial been held at Poona both the Judge and the Jury could have acquitted themselves better on account of their intimate knowledge of the Vernacular.

In vain did Mr. Tilak protest that the translations of the incriminating articles were incorrect; in vain did Mr. Pugh, his Counsel point to Mr. Tilak's fair criticism of the Government during the Plague administration, his complimentary language with respect to Lord Sandhurst which showed that he (Mr. Tilak) could have had no animus against the Government. Though Mr. Lang, the Advocate-General, was scrupulously fair, the Judge delivered a strongly prejudiced charge to the Jury. "It seemed that the Judge and the Advocate-General had interchanged places." "Mr. Justice Strachey freely referred to the famine and the plague * * told about the employment of British troops not being liked by the people * * passed on to the Poona murders" and "without the least hesita-

* From the *Indian Mirror* (Calcutta).

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tion" declared that "the inevitable result was friction and such a state of tension and excited feeling that, no wonder it ultimately culminated in the murders of Mr. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst." Of course he did not mean to suggest in any way that there was relation of cause and effect between "either of these articles and those abominable murders." Still the charge of the Judge tended to create strong prejudice against the accused, who was pronounced by 6 jurors to have committed sedition; and the Judge after complimenting the accused on his remarkable ability and influence, sentenced him (14th September 1897), to rigorous imprisonment for 18th months. A special appeal was made to the Privy Council, but it was fruitless; and in the meantime Mr. Tilak was serving his sentence in the Yeravda gaol.

Such was the result of the conflict—the first of its kind in India—between the mighty Government of Bombay with its immense resources and a solitary citizen with nothing but truth, courage and a nation's sympathy to support him. Apparently it was a blow to Mr. Tilak. Since this time his relations with Government were uniformly unfriendly and as a consequence even those who should have stood by him, generally kept him at an arm's length; from this time the influential clique that guided the course of the Congress tried their best to put Mr. Tilak down. Of course, there were leaders like the Hon. Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath, whose relations with Mr. Tilak stood the shock of this prosecution and conviction. But the generality of the Moderate element shrank from any further co-operation with him.

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But while in one direction Mr. Tilak lost much of that influence which went with moderatism, there was an immense accession of purity, strength and purpose to the National cause. Patriotism was, by his example and suffering lifted up from weak-kneed opportunism and humble mendicity to the high level of religion. Mr. Tilak's attitude was an object lesson to the people in manly fight and courage and suffering came to be recognised as the necessary qualities of a leader. The political leadership was, up to this time, the property of wealth, social position, Government patronage and oratorical powers. Now came the demand for leadership which would reveal tremendous powers of suffering for the cause. Evidently Mr. Tilak gave a deathblow to all conceptions of easy-going arm-chair leadership. He no longer basked in official sunshine. He was now no longer "Honourable"—*Rajamanya*. He, however, became, what was infinitely greater, the "*Lokamanya*"—the Honoured of the people.

The gravest feature of this prosecution was Mr. Strachey's wholly untenable definition of 'sedition.' According to him 'disaffection' did not mean any positive feeling of hatred etc. towards the Government. It simply meant 'want of affection.' Regarding this and another aspect of the case, the *Daily Chronicle* said :—

"Wildness, discontent, mischievous rubbish there may be in plenty. But we have got on with it and we shall get on with it again. Prove real sedition—above all, conclusively connect it with crime—and we should all favour sharp, stern punishment. But when it comes to overhauling poems and constructing elaborated in-

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nuendoes from eulogies of picturesque and popular bandits (?) . . . one feels that the Government are on perilous path.

"There is one aspect of the "sedition" trials in India which must not be lost sight of. And that is, the new definition of 'disaffection' enunciated by Mr. Justice Strachey * * * According to him 'disaffection' may be seditious even though it be simply strong disapproval of some omission on the part of Government. We feel confident that such an interpretation of the law would not be tolerated in England and if not speedily over-ruled, may produce grave mischief in India."

This was the considered opinion of an English newspaper and it amounts to a declaration that Mr. Tilak was unjustly convicted by an incorrect, arbitrary and novel interpretation of Sec. 124-A of the Penal Code. Far from over-ruling this interpretation, the Imperial Legislative Council gave legal status to it by amending on 18th February 1898 the notorious section in the teeth of Indian opposition.

In the chorus of sympathy that rang the air, the scene at the National Congress is most significant. When the favourite orator of India said in thundering accents :—

"I declare on my behalf and on behalf of the entire Native Press that in our heart of hearts we believe Mr. Tilak to be innocent of the charge brought against him. The ends of technical justice may have been satisfied but substantial justice has grievously failed. My sympathy goes forth towards Mr. Tilak in his prison home for whom the Nation is in tears—". The whole assembly rose to their feet and expressed

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its feelings by cheering Mr. Tilak vociferously for several minutes." It was a unique and unprecedented demonstration which ushered the advent of a new force in Indian Politics.

Mr. Tilak was a guest of Her Majesty's gaol at Yeravda till 6th September 1898, when he was released, nearly six months prior to the termination of the prescribed period of eighteen months. This belated grace was accelerated by the influentially signed petition presented by the late Prof. Max Muller to H. M. the Queen Victoria. Prof. Max Muller knew Mr. Tilak as the author of the 'Orion' and it was largely due to his efforts that the sense of justice of Lord Sandhurst was at last awakend. There was still a display of pettymindedness in insisting upon an application for clemency from Mr. Tilak himself. But Mr. Tilak, who had manfully rejected such a humiliating offer before he was convicted, was not the man to yield now.

Prof. Max Muller's interest in Mr. Tilak enabled the latter to spend much of his enforced leisure profitably. Mr. Tilak was allowed the use of candles for a couple of hours at night and he utilized this opportunity to push on his researches into Vedic antiquities. The goal-diet reduced his weight from 135lbs. to 104. A slight improvement in his food again increased it to 113lbs. This diet was also responsible for diabetes which he soon contracted and which more or less tormented him to the end of his life. He was required to do hard work indoors. It is really sad to contemplate the author of the "Arctic Home in the Vedas" caning chairs and painting walls. To Mr. Tilak, all work was equally interesting and he is said to have surprised the gaoler by

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his improvements in the mixing up of several colours. The dull monotony of prison-life would have broken a less ardent spirit. But like a Yogi, Mr. Tilak had withdrawn all thoughts from the living present and had concentrated them on the vicissitudes of the ancient Aryans. His happiest moments were those when obscure Vedic passages yielded their meaning to his searching intellect, and when he could correctly interpret the verse commencing with **Taneedahani bahulanyasan* in the Rig Veda (VII, 76, 3) he could not sleep for joy. Mr. Tilak's prison-life shows that he was possessed not only of the qualities of the soldier and the scholar but also those of the sage, who has transcended pleasure and plain, happiness and misery and looks at the petty struggles of the world from the sublime heights of his controlled mind.

The sudden and unexpected release of Mr. Tilak sent a thrill of joy throughout the country. He came out of the gaol a broken man—broken physically, never mentally or morally. Old age put its ineffaceable marks upon his face. His first duty, therefore, was to recoup his health. He spent a few months at his favourite sanitorium, the Sinhgad, hallowed by the exploits of Shivaji. Then he attended the Congress (Dec. 1898) at Madras; thence he went to Ceylon and returned Poona in February 1899. During his tours in Ceylon, he pushed on his study of the Buddhistic culture and philisophy, commenced as early as 1890.

Though the excitement of the Anglo-Indian mind had much to do with the troubles of Mr. Tilak, still when the case was going on, the Advocate-General had

* *Vide* P. 88 (*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*).

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distinctly admitted that the charge against Mr. Tilak had nothing to do with the Poona murders. In spite of this clear admission, the notorious *Globe* had the effrontery to remark that " Tilak "—mark the omission of Mr.—had directed, if not organised, the campaign of murder and that the Western Presidency had been permeated by seditious conspiracies of a most dangerous character with the arch-plotter Tilak as the head. The *Times of India* published these remarks; but when hauled up before the Magistrate for defamation, made suitable amends by tendering a graceful apology which was as gracefully accepted. A suit was filed against the *Globe* in England, and the paper which had reviled this Poona Brahmin to eat its own words and tender an unreserved apology.

It was reserved for Sir Valentine Chirol to hold Mr. Tilak *morally* responsible for the Poona murders; and though Mr. Tilak failed in his attempts to *legally* disprove the subtle accusation, still all India holds him *morally* innocent of the charge. Directly or indirectly morally or actually, Mr. Tilak had nothing to do with murders; and the only murder he ever talked about was that of Afzulkhan, in connection with the Shivaji Festival. Mr. Tilak's life was an open book, on which the word ' patriotism ' was writ large; and if the courts of justice made the mistake of confounding patriotism with sedition—well, he was prepared to pay the price. As for murder—political or otherwise—it was absolutely foreign to his nature.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL OF MODERATION

Let us swear an oath and keep it with an equal mind
In the hollow lotus-land to live and lie reclined.
Surely surely slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore
Than labour in the deep mid ocean, wind and wave and oar;
Oh, rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wonder more.

Tennyson.

WHILE the Social Reformers were remarrying widows and breaking castes with the ultimate object of making the people fit for political rights, Mr. Tilak was labouriouly striving to infuse vigour into the public mind by his passionate appeals to the great traditions of our History, Religion and Society. He inaugurated the *Ganapati* and the *Shivaji festivals*, which in spite of the bitter attacks of Moderates and the hostile attitude of the Government have now come to form a permanent feature of the social life of Maharashtra. These festivals deserve to be recorded as Mr. Tilak's memorable contributions to our public life.

The Ganapati festival, started in 1893 appealed to the religious instincts of the masses and to the religious and patriotic instincts of the educated people in Maharashtra. It has now taken a permanent place in the social life of the people and affords annually a common platform to the masses and the classes. It supplies healthy intellectual food to the ignorant masses. It

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trains up the youth of the country in organisation, public work and public spirit. Lectures, processions, singing parties are the invariable accompaniments of the festival and they not only afford an outlet to the religious zeal of the people but help in fostering the national sentiment also and in creating an interest in the outstanding questions of the day. The Reformers and Moderates have stood aloof from the festival and have misunderstood its aims and objects and its place in the work of the national uplift. But their opposition has no more arrested the popularity of the festival than the howlings of the Anglo-Indian press; nor have they succeeded in establishing its connection with Anti-Mahomedan spirit. Mr. Tilak has come and gone. But the bent he has given to a religious festival, converting it into a social and national force, abides and will forever testify to his organizing genius. Our District and Provincial Conferences have not yet won a place in the life of the people and have been held only at odd places and have been attended only by the so called "educated" people. But the Ganapati festival is celebrated in every city, town and village and has more powerfully moulded the life of the people than any Congress organisation.

From out the heroes who moulded Maratha History stands out one personality in bold relief. Brahmins adore him; non-Brahmins claim him as their own. Mr. Ranade the great apostle of Moderation has sung his praises in a work that still abides. The Indian states which are scattered over Maharashtra owe their existence to his efforts. Mr. Tilak therefore thought that round the personality of Shivaji, he could gather all the

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patriotic and national forces. The inspiration which western democratic teachings gave to us was rather weak and essentially outlandish. But the worship of Shivaji was such as even the ignorant villager could understand. The name of Shivaji was a symbol of unity, courage, sacrifice. It connoted the highest patriotic fervour. It stood for complete political emancipation. Shivaji and Swaraj were synonymous words. By starting the Shivaji festival in 1895, Mr. Tilak stimulated the National instincts of the people. He gave to a message to the people freed from the puzzling verbiage of western democracy and which being simple and direct went straight to their hearts.

The first public meeting that was held in connection with the Shivaji memorial was organised by Mr. Tilak and was attended by the leading Chiefs of Maratha States as also by the leading Jahagirdars and the Inamdars of the Deccan. It was attended or blessed by the leading Reformers of the day. The Spiritual Descendant of Saint Ramdas honoured with it with his presence. Some Mahomedans also attended in true fraternal spirit. High and low, rich and poor, persons of every caste and creed flocked to do homage to the memory of the hero.

But this unity of sentiment was short-lived. Such a rallying point evidently scared the Bureaucrats. In 1897 Mr. Tilak was convicted for having published a few verses (descriptive of an imaginery message of Shivaji) and a report of his speech at the Shivaji festival. Since that time a large portion of those people whose happiness and position in life depended upon Bureaucratic goodwill

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have thought it prudent to remain aloof from the festival. The Moderates too, were afraid to co-operate with Mr. Tilak. In spite of these circumstances, the Shivaji festival has become a permanent feature of the public life of Maharashtra ; at times it has been celebrated even beyond the bounds of the Bombay Presidency,—in Bengal and in Japan. It will ever remain a permanent source of inspiration to the people.

Up to 1893, inspite of acute Social Reform controversies, there was no split among the Congressmen. But the outbtreak of the Hindu-Mahomedan riots created an unfortunate breach. Mr. Tilak was the first to assert that the riots were the direct outcome of the divide-and-rule policy, which a section of the officials had inaugurated. Anxious to fasten the responsibility on others, the Anglo-Indians and some of the officials threw the blame on the movement of cow-protection, with which they had persuaded themselves that Mr. Tilak was associated. With the possible exception of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the Hon. Mr. Rahimtulla Sayani, most of the Bombay politicians, later known by the unenviable title of Moderates, meekly gulped down this pill. They chafed at Mr. Tilak for having blurted out the truth. They had not the courage even of refuting the connection which was sedulously sought to be established between the riots and the cow-protection Societies, though, a few months later, even the Government of Bombay 'hesitated to accept' the view. The unpleasantness engendered in the course of these controversies, was aggravated by the Congress controversies at Poona (1895). To top this all came the dissensions in the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, where

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Ranade had established his supremacy in 1889. As so often happens in India, affairs in the Sabha had degenerated into cliquism. In 1895, however, Mr. Tilak secured a majority among the members. This incensed the rulers of the Sabha. They were long accustomed to have things in their own way and had no desire to be ruled by Mr. Tilak. They, therefore, set up the " bewitching cry " of " compromise, as if there was anything to compromise at all." Prof. Gokhale undertook the mission of the Peacemaker. But he made the initial mistake of dictating terms to the victorious party. Knowing that his partisans were in utter minority, Mr. Gokhale should have proposed terms at least as favourable to Mr. Tilak's party as to his own. But he went a step further. He proposed three terms : (1) The Managing Committee of the Sabha should be composed of equal members from both the parties (2) The Chairman should continue to be same (that is a Moderate) and (3) There should be three Secretaries instead of the usual number of two and of these three only one should represent the majority. This attempt to hoodwink Mr. Tilak failed ; and the chafing Moderates wrecked their venegeance by practically ousting Mr. Tilak from the Secretaryship of the Poona Congress. But even this did not satisfy them. Unaccustomed to play the second part, they resolved rather to secede from the Sarvajanik Sabha than cooperate with Mr. Tilak. They pressed Ranade to allow them to start a new Political Association ; and after prolonged hesitation and against his better judgment Ranade at last sanctioned the formation of

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the Deccan Sabha (Nov. 1895) and thus perpetuated the split.

We are prepared to concede that a frank and friendly secession is far better than surface-unity and so wide is the room for work in this country that even a hundred associations are welcome. To start a new association, however, is one thing; and to do so after making disingenuous insinuations against an established one is quite another; and this is what the importunities of his whining followers led the great Ranade to do. Mr. Tilak severely criticised this conduct. He said:—

"We have been accustomed to the terms, Moderates and Extremists in Social Reform controversies. But we refuse to accept these artificial differences in Politics. Is Mr. Tilak going to destroy the British Government? Are Mr. Ranade and Prof. Gokhale going to be its saviours? To plume oneself as a Moderate and to say that others are running after the impossible and insinuate that they are actuated by seditious motives shows the height of imprudence. If ever the Sabha has "run after the impossible" and has shown "extremist leanings" it was in Prof. Gokhale's regime. It had to make amends by tendering an apology. Mr. Ranade ought to know that the Sabha incurred suspicion of disloyalty when he himself was guiding its policy. All of us know how he had to move heaven and earth to remove the blot. Should he, knowing all this, now come forward and because he cannot command a majority in the body, throw aspersions at the Sabha?"

This then was the formal birth of the Moderate party. It was this disunity between the "Moderates" and the "Extremists" that emboldened the Bureau-

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cracy to take advantage of the psychological moment offered by the Poona murderers (1897) and launch on a policy of widespread repression in the Presidency. Immediately after resuming (4th July 1899) the editorship of the *Kesari*, after his one year's incarceration, Mr. Tilak made a powerful appeal to the 'Moderates':—

"When, two years back, the political school of Moderation sprang into existence, we had presaged as much. Some of our critics had blamed us for our pessimism, but our prophesy was fully borne out . . . . However, let bygones be bygones. Let us turn over a new leaf now. We find that owing to the disorders due to the plague and to the angry attitude of the Government, all our movements have come to a standstill. If we mean to revive them, our first duty is to close up our ranks. Like the crows of the fable, we, each of us, call ourselves peacocks. Only our opponents are crows! But there is the eagle of the Bureaucracy in the sky, bent on confounding us, crows, peacocks and all. Should not the experience of the last two years make us wiser? There are some papers who pride themselves on their moderation, because they have not been prosecuted in 1897. But is it necessary for us to say why and how they escaped scot-free? They should at least look to the Gile's circular before satisfying themselves of their innocence. Both the political parties are agreed as to the rights we want to get from the rulers. Both are agreed as to the need of demanding these rights from the Government and of educating the people to make such demands. If this is so, where is the room for "Moderation" and "Extremism"? None of us ever dreams of breaking or transgressing the laws of the

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land while demanding our rights. What then is the difference? . . . Already the Government has restricted our liberty of speech. It is suicidal, therefore, to emphasise our political differences. . . . Let us not keep aloof from each other by creating false doubts and differences . . . . (*Kesari* July 4th 1899).

Apparently the appeal fell on deaf ears: for nine years later, we find history repeating itself! An open rupture, a bomb outrage and a policy of terrible repression! Shall India never learn the evils of disunion?

At a metting organised at Poona to do honour to Mr. (now Hon. Mr.) R. P. Paranjpye on his return from Cambridge, poor Mr. Tilak was not even invited! The organisers of the meeting were more anxious to obtain the recognition and patronage of the Government!

This, however, was only a straw, though indicative of the direction, in which the wind was blowing. Various such instances can be quoted. When Lord Sandhurst was about to retire (1900 Feb.), the usual question of a public address and a public memorial was discussed. Dr. Bhalchandra and Mr. (Dr. Sir) Chandavarkar led the movement. Mr. (Sir) Dinshaw Wacha and Mr. (Hon. Sir) Chimanlal Setalwad were strongly against it, but seeing the attitude of their master, the Lion of Bombay, they had to yield. Ranade was diplomatic. He took no part in the controversy. He pleased himself and Lord Sandhurst by a garden-party. This demoralisation in the public life of the Presidency intensely pained Mr. Tilak. Nothing surprised him more than the attitude of Sir (then Mr.) Pherozeshah who had strongly opposed such a movement when Sir Richard Temple and Lord Harris were

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about to retire. Evidently the Lion was fast becoming domesticated.

The effect of this demoralised Bombay public atmosphere on Indian politics was indeed unfortunate. The leaders of other Provinces had the greatest respect for Ranade and Mehta and implicitly followed them ; and when Mehta himself was losing his old fire, need we wonder that a change for the worse came over the Congress Party ?

This weakening of spirit came precisely when the Bureaucracy and the Nation had just begun their struggle. Ever since 1896 Mr. Tilak had been trying hard to induce the Congress to change its time-honoured methods and show a little more grit. While the nucleus of the New Party in the Congress was being formed the patriarches of the Congress showed unmistakable signs of a reactionary spirit ; so much so that when at the Lucknow Congress (1899) Mr. Tilak wanted to move a resolution condemning the regime of Lord Sandhurst, a storm of opposition was raised. Mr. Tilak challenged a single delegate of the Congress to prove that His Lordship's tenure of office had not been ruinous to the people of the Bombay Presidency. None dared take up the challenge. He quoted the misdeeds of the Bureaucracy one by one and asked his opponents to say where he was exaggerating our grievances, and yet Mr. R. C. Dutt, the President and many other delegates were violently against Mr. Tilak's proposition. One clever person hinted that the subject was one of the Provincial interest only, and so the Congress could not be expected to take it up. Mr. Tilak quoted a number of cases where provincial matters had occupied

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the attention of the National body. Nonplussed, the Congress leaders resorted to their usual tactics. The President threatened to resign the presidential post if Mr. Tilak persisted in the matter. Not liking to bring matters to a head, Mr. Tilak withdrew his proposition. At the Satara Provincial Conference, (May 1900) Mr. Tilak again sought to move the following resolution :—

"That this Conference desires to place on record its deep sense of regret that during the last few years, the Government of Bombay should have been pleased to adopt a retrograde policy of repression and distrust, as evidenced by Press prosecutions, arrests and imprisonments of persons without trial, widening of the powers of the Police ... and it earnestly prays for a speedy return to the Policy of Progress . . . which had characterised the best traditions of British Rule in India."

Here, too, the President, Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, perhaps remembering how most of the leaders of Bombay had been associated with the Sandhurst Memorial movement sought to suppress the Resolution by threatening to resign his post. The opposition at last was reconciled on one condition. The resolution, though not formally moved, was recorded in the proceedings of the Conference. This was surely creditable to Mr. Tilak whose party commanded an overwhelming majority. Out of 180 delegates, as many as 124 had sided with Mr. Tilak and had signed the requisition sent to the President of the Conference.

It will thus be seen that self-interest, timidity "policy" induced most of the Congress leaders to forget their duties and responsibilities to the people

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For such contemptible opportunism, they tried to temper the tone of the Congress which they had nurtured with true paternal tenderness and solicitude. The Congress thus lost its prestige and shattered its own popularity and became a "mutual admiration society." Its resolutions instead of being the echoes of the national sentiment, were the decrees of a coterie, none too active or progressive. Its Presidents came to be selected with a view to secure Government recognition. Mr. Chandavarkar, who had kept himself aloof from the Congress ever since 1890, was called upon (1900) to discharge the duties of the Congress President. Official emoluments came to be the standard of Congress recognition; and official wrath and persecutions, the mark of neglect by the Congress authorities. Mr. Chandavarkar, in spite of his ten years' desertion of the Congress, could become its President (1900) because he was high in Government favour and was likely to be appointed Acting High Court Judge. Mr. Tilak, in spite of his 20 years' record of courageous and self-sacrificing public services, had his claims for the honour set aside, because the Bureaucracy had chosen to dislike him.

This was a period of violent political reaction. Hardly had the discontent due to famine, plague and press-prosecutions begun to grow less acute when the regime of Lord Curzon which, in its beginnings, had raised great expectations, commenced to create a sense of resentment, to which there is no parallel in the earlier history of our public life. People, who were dazzled by Lord Curzon's personality, energy, and eloquence, found it to their cost, that these noble qua-

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lities were accompanied by an utter lack of sympathy and imagination and by a mistaken consciousness that his Lordship was specially sent on earth to consolidate the British Empire. To Lord Curzon's imagination, India appeared a mere pawn in the bigger game of extending England's sphere of influence over Asia and in the blindness of his imperialistic ego, he failed to realise the growing awakening in the country. His attempts to win popularity with the *ryots* by huge expenditures on agriculture and irrigation and by reduction of salt-tax and the Income-Tax and by his ostentatious solicitude for equitable justice between the black man and his white master, were completely unsuccessful. His callous neglect of the industrial regeneration of the country, his anxiety to control University education, his cynical reference to the Political Movement of the day, his curt refusal to encourage Indians in higher service, his audacious interpretation of the Queen's Proclamation, his uncalled-for interference in Local self-Government, his reckless expenditure in the unnecessary Durbar at Delhi, his rude refusal to receive the Congress-Deputation headed by Sir Henry Cotton, and to top all, the memorable Partition of Bengal—these and many other events of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty created a delicate situation which, the Moderates were unable to cope with. Public disappointment was at its height. Even the late Mr. Hume, Father of the Congress felt it his duty to awaken the 'leaders' from their inglorious apathy. Said he:—

"It is by consistent and persistent importunity both in India and England that sooner or later, wearied out

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by your incessant appeals, the Government will be driven to concede what are clearly your rights.

"You meet in Congress; you glow with a momentary enthusiasm; you speak much and eloquently. But the Congress closes and every man of you goes off straightway on his private business! Years ago, I called on you to be up and doing; years ago, I warned you that 'Nations by themselves are made' and have you heeded these counsels? You have, indeed, ever eagerly clamoured for and vainly clutched at the *Crown* but how many of you will touch the *cross* even with your finger-tips?"

And what was the response Sir Pherozeshah gave to the above passionate appeal? Speaking as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 20th National Congress at Bombay, he said:—

"To those who decry the money spent upon the Congress as moneys wasted on a show and a *tamasha*, I would say, they are not men of real insight and true imagination. . . . . If you realise it clearly and fully, there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its session. . . . .. We, delegates, representatives of this country, meet together, at the end of the year, to give voice to the public opinion.

"But we are told that we have done this for long and we have done this in vain. I absolutely dispute both these propositions. . . . To estimate the position rightly, let me lay before you (my) confession of Faith. I am an inveterate, and a robust optimist. . . I accept British rule, as Ranade did, as a dispensation so won-

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derful. . . . that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will. . . . We cordially confess that, in the main, England has chosen wisely and well."

This attitude of self-satisfaction was strongly resented by Mr. Tilak. "What hope is there" said he "when the rulers of the National Body frankly confess that the object of the Congress is nothing more than to focus the public opinion of the year?" We can, however, understand the difficulties of the Moderate leaders. It was a time of transition. The time-honoured methods of political life required to be replaced by a more militant form of agitation. That called for a type of courage, an amount of energy and activity, a degree of self-sacrifice, clearly wanting in the Moderate leaders. Altogether a new type of leadership was in requisition. But in the language of Napoleon: "the pear" was "not yet ripe." The psychological moment for Mr. Tilak to lead a frontal attack both against the Moderates as well as the Bureaucracy had not yet arrived. As Lord Curzon marched from one autocratic act to another, it slowly came nearer and nearer.

Between 1899, when Mr. Tilak resumed his editorship of the *Kesari* and 1905, when the Partition of Bengal, carried out in haste and repented at leisure, put the final seal to the bitterness and helplessness that prevailed, Mr. Tilak's contribution to the public life was not what it could have been; for from the middle of 1901 to the close of 1904 he was involved in the earlier stages of the well-known *Tai Maharaj* case. He had to prepare the cases in the several suits, civil and criminal, brought by or against him and had to examine witnesses on commission for months together at

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Aurangabad, Amraoti and Kolhapur. The criminal case alone engaged his attention for about ten months.

Up to 1904, Mr. Tilak was only a Provincial leader. The Partition of Bengal ushered into existence an agitation which gave birth to an All-India Party and by universal consent of friend and foe, Mr. Tilak came to be the unquestioned leader of this party.

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CHAPTER IX

THE FIERY CROSS

Rejoice and fear not for the waves that swell,
The storms that thunder, winds that sweep,
Always our Captain holds the rudder well,
He does not sleep.

Arabindo Ghose.

THAT, for nearly eighteen years of his life, Mr. Tilak was involved in a private litigation, arising out of an unnatural alliance between an inexperienced young widow, a number of unscrupulous persons inimical to him and the mighty Bureaucracy hopelessly prejudiced against him, is known to all. The Tai Maharaj Case was really a flank movement on the public career of Mr. Tilak and was intended to drive him out of public life by judicially proving his dishonesty. Fortunately Mr. Tilak did ultimately triumph. But before the final victory came, he suffered two reverses which were fully exploited by his political enemies. The judgment of Mr. Justice Chandavarkar (1910) with its unwarranted aspersions on Mr. Tilak's character, was of invaluable aid to Sir Valentine Chirol in villifying him. Apart from the capital made out of it by the allies of the Bureaucracy, the Tai Maharaj case, in its winding courses, threatened to ruin Mr. Tilak in every possible way. It put him

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to an expenditure of thousands of rupees and promised to crush him financially. It took huge slices from his leisure ; in fact, during some of the stages of this never-ending case, the task of vindicating his character was his principle business and politics or literature was the work of leisure. A careful calculation of the actual time spent by him in fighting out the case from its commencement to the conclusion shows that it took away six precious years of his time. Nor was the loss of time and money his only misfortune. The dread uncertainty of it all threw a shadow on his cheerfulness. Mr. Tilak's life during the better part of this period can be compared to the course of a ship which every minute stands in danger of being blown over by a stray mine or a torpedo. In the end, truth triumphed over falsehood, justice over injustice, and Mr. Tilak's character was completely vindicated, first by the judgment of the Bombay High Court (1904) and then by that of the Privy Council in 1915.

Mr. Tilak was never a fatalist ; but his experiences in the Tai Maharaj case must have shown him what a great part, seeming accidents play in men's lives ! When on August 5th, 1897, Mr. Tilak was released on bail by Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyabji, he must have felt extremely thankful. But, had the High Court not released him on bail on August 5th, Mr. Tilak would not have been able to attend (Aug. 7th) the death-bed of his friend Baba Maharaj ; and had Mr. Tilak not met Baba Maharaj on that mournful day, he would not have been, in all probability, required to undertake the thankless duties of a Trustee. When Mr. Tilak saw that his friend was on the point of death ,he asked him to make a will ;

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for he knew that his friend was to leave behind him a widow of fifteen and an estate, burdened with debts. Baba Maharaj readily agreed and requested Mr. Tilak to draft a will. Mr. Tilak did so, in consultation with the dying man, and unwilling to take upon himself the onerous duties of a trustee, he put in the names of two of the neighbours of Baba Maharaj as Trustees. But Baba Maharaj knew that his estate would be better taken care of by Mr. Tilak than by anyone else so he struck off the names suggested by Mr. Tilak and put in those of Mr. Tilak, Rao Saheb Kirtikar, (Hon.) Mr. Khaparde and of Messrs. Kumbhojkar, and Nagpurkar—two clerks in his employ. Mr. Kirtikar having refused to do the work the main responsibility naturally fell upon Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde. During the period of Mr. Tilak's incarceration Mr. Khaparde arranged for the Probate, made inventories and did the rest of the initial work.

The will of Baba Maharaj contained the following important paragraph regarding succession and adoption :

" My wife is now pregnant. If she does not give birth to a son, or if the son after birth is short-lived, then, for the purpose of continuing the name of my family, with the *Vichara* of the trustees a boy should be given, as often as may be necessary, in adoption, on the lap of my wife, in accordance with the *Shastras*, and the *Panch* should, on behalf of that son, carry on the management of the immoveable and moveable estates till he attains majority."

On January 18th, 1898, the widow gave birth to a son but he died within two months.

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When Mr. Tilak came out of jail (Sep. 1898),) he commenced looking after the affairs of Tai Maharaj, widow of his deceased friend. The estate was heavily burdened with debt and Mr. Tilak found that retrenchment was the only way of saving it. But this "could not be agreeable to the young widow, who fancied herself to be the equitable owner of the estate and regarded her possible divestment by an adopted boy as a legitimate grievance. There were also harpies who fed on her, had made themselves more or less dear to her as the objects of idle amusement in her widowed leisure and who gradually and slyly nestled into her confidence as counsellors that whispered agreeable words and made pleasant suggestions." What these evil counsellors did, will be seen later.

For nearly three years, Mr. Tilak in consultation with Tai Maharaj and other trustees made frequent enquiries and numerous efforts towards the securing of a suitable boy for adoption. The circle of relations was considerable, but a suitable adoptee could not be found in the Kolhapur or Poona branches of the family of the deceased. As we now know some secret efforts were, about this time, being made to induce Tai Maharaj to adopt Bala Maharaj, brother of Pandit Maharaj of Kolhapur.

A meeting of the trustees was held on June 18th 1901. The records of this meeting show that there were no boys available (for adoption) in the Kolhapur branch of the family. There were some in the Poona branch, but of them none was approved of. The trustees, therefore, decided in consultation with Tai Maharaj, to see if one was availabe in the Babre* branch of the family.

* A Village in the District of Aurangabad.

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" (Thereupon)* Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde, accompanied by the widow, went to Aurangabad and selected five boys within the circle of relationship. The boys stayed with the widow for several days, being entertained and kept under observations. Certain astrologers cast the horoscopes of the children. These proved favourable to (the appellant) Jagannath ; and her personal likings appeared to point in the same direction. All this course of conduct pointed to the entire acquiescence on the part of the widow in the Testators' wishes and directions, and so far there is no substantial suggestion to the contrary. On June 27th (therefore) a meeting of the Shastris and of other persons in Aurangabad was summoned. The father of the boy being present, it was announced by the trustees that the boy was selected. The father was taken to the widow ; she asked him to give her his boy in adoption and he agreed. The fact was announced to the assembled guests and there and then, the duplicate deeds of adoption were drawn up, both intended to be signed and attested by the widow. (Another) document was a letter from the widow, addressed to the father and agreeing to take the boy in adoption. So far as giving and receiving of the child, these documents were prepared for and pointed to actual adoption in fact.

" The preparation of the documents, however, occupied time and the hour being late, the proceedings were stopped but were resumed early next morning. A gathering was accordingly again held early on the 28th. The deeds of adoption and the letter were duly executed, the boy was given in fact by his

* From the Privy Council Judgment (1915).

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natural father to his adoptive mother, he was received in fact by her on her lap in performance of the requisite essential of adoption, and—all being done—the formal ceremonies and festivals were postponed to take place afterwards at Poona."

Under ordinary circumstances, nothing further would have been heard of the adoption. But this simple transaction was destined to create a world of worry and involve Mr. Tilak into troubles from which God's Grace and his resourcefulness alone saved him. Referring to the origin of the Tai Maharaj case, Mr. Tilak wrote in the following strain (*Kesari* March 8th 1904):—

"Every flock has its black sheep" says the proverb; the City of Poona too, far famed as a centre of culture, has its set of scheming persons, who in the language of the poet: 'hate for the sake of hatred.' These 'philanthropic' persons are not necessarily confined to one party or to one set of professions; orthodox or heterodox, moderates or extremists, lawyers and bankers, cultured and uncultured—they join together for their own selfish ends and revel in pulling down any good person or thing. As long as Mr. Nagpurkar (one of the Trustees) had not lost his head, he tried his best to keep Tai Maharaj safe from the machinations of these unscrupulous persons. But a time came when he himself went over to these persons and set himself to betray the interests of his deceased master.

"It is these people whom Mr. Lucas, the Sessions Judge, in his judgment, refers to as Mr. Tilak's deadly enemies. These people however knew that they were not sufficiently strong to ruin Mr. Tilak. They, therefore, plotted to bring to their aid a powerful ally, *viz.*

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the Government. They knew that Mr. Tilak's person was most distasteful to the Government. They, therefore, induced Tai Maharaj to see Mr. Aston (Agent to the Sardars of the Deccan and District Judge) at his bungalow and seek his protection against the 'tyranny' of Mr. Tilak. They would surely have failed in this diabolical intrigue had Mr. Aston been less impulsive or more fair-minded. But Mr. Tilak was to Mr. Aston what a red rag is to the bull. It was impossible in the very nature of things that Mr. Aston, who once had sentenced a poor editor to tranportation for life for simply writing against the Government, to lose this golden opportunity of distinguishing himself and earning the gratitude of Government. When moreover he saw that some respectable (?) persons in the town supported Tai Maharaj, his fury knew no bounds. His fury incapacitated him from making inquiries regarding the truth or otherwise of the allegations. The earnest appeal of a young widow for protection, the strong support she had of a number of respectable-looking men, and the golden opportunity of crushing an individual odious to the Government—all this was too much for Mr. Aston, who promised protection to Tai Maharaj in his double capacity as District Judge and Agent to the Deccan Sardars. As regards the Bombay Government, their relations with Mr. Tilak are well-known, and their implicit faith in the conduct of and procedure followed by Mr. Aston was apparently perfectly natural."

On July 29th, 1901, Tai Maharaj applied for revocation of the Probate granted to Mr. Tilak and other trustees. Mr. Aston, before whom the proceedings

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went on, should have really confined himself to the question *viz.* whether the grant of Probate to Mr. Tilak and others had become inoperative owing to the birth (and death) of a son to Tai Maharaj. He had no business to decide the question of the Aurangabad adoption. But in spite of Mr. Tilak's protests, Mr. Aston allowed the Plaintiff to put in evidence regarding the adoption. Mr. Tilak was cross-examined for full 14 days. The Judge's opinion of Mr. Tilak as a witness is worth recording "Fencing, prevaricating, quibbling witness; demeanour distinctly untruthful. A great deal of time was wasted by ambiguous replies to plain questions, which were repeated over and over again. Witness was repeatedly cautioned about fencing." Mr. Aston revoked the Probate, held the Aurangabad adoption disproved and committed Mr. Tilak under Sec. 476 (C. P. Code) to the City Magistrate " to be dealt with according to law." Seven charges were formulated against him. They were :—

(1) Mr. Tilak had made false complaint for breach of trust against Mr. Nagpurkar, one of the trustees.

(2) Mr. Tilak had fabricated false evidence for use by making alterations and interpolations in the accounts of the Aurangabad trip.

(3) Forgery in connection with (2)..

(4) Mr. Tilak had corruptly used or attempted to use as genuine evidence known to be false.

(5) Mr. Tilak had corruptly used as genuine the adoption deed.

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(6) Mr. Tilak had fraudulently used as genuine the adoption deed containing his interpolation over Tai Maharaj's signature.

(7) Mr. Tilak had given false evidence intentionally.

Regarding none of these irrelevant charges had Mr. Tilak put in even a scrap of paper as evidence. Still the learned Judge committed Mr. Tilak to the City Magistrate.

"The Commitment was made on the 4th of April 1902 which may be taken, as perhaps, the darkest day, that ever dawned upon Mr. Tilak. Just conceive a man of Mr. Tilak's position standing before the world which already contained a large number of prejudiced critics, a fair number of active and bitter opponents,—conceive a man in this condition, judicially denounced, as an obstinate, high-handed unchivalrous and unscrupulous character, whose hand did not stop even at perjuries against a young, weak, and defenceless girl in a high family! Here was a man who had been already convicted for sedition, an offence of a purely public character. But now was his turn come, for the bottom becoming knocked out of him and for his being exposed to the world as a character as unworthy in private as it had been proved to be in public life. The world wondered and stared and then blinked and stood aghast. To a man of Mr. Tilak's education and position, the hour must have indeed proved the darkest! But the lamp of faith was burning bright within him and those alone, who knew the kind of faith he had in him, could discern the distant silver lining with which even the heavy and the black clouds ranging over his head were relieved"*

* From the *Mahratta* (March 6th, 1904).

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While the proceedings in connection with the Probate application were going on, Mr. Tilak had approached the High Court for a transfer of the case from Mr. Aston, who having granted several interviews to Tai Maharaj and having advised Tai Maharaj—according to her own admission—on certain points, had refused even to see the Trustees and had thus betrayed his prejudice against Mr. Tilak. But the High Court did not grant Mr. Tilak's request for a transfer of the case, though when a regular appeal was made against Mr. Aston's judgment, the High Court reversed the Probate Decision. So Mr. Tilak and his colleagues were once more restored to their powers as trustees and executors.

A special Magistrate was appointed to go into the seven big charges against Mr. Tilak. The proceedings commenced on September 15th, 1902. The alleged false complaint made against Mr. Nagpurkar by Mr. Tilak was first taken up for hearing. Mr. Justice Beaman, while finally disposing of this question declared that there was nothing wrong or illegal about Mr. Tilak's complaint against Mr. Nagpurkar, a "salaried servant and agent for the estate and as such a responsible custodian of the valuable jewllery entrusted to him." It was his clear duty, said the learned Judge, "to allow inspection of the ornaments when demanded by a majority of the trustees, on pain of dismissal for suspected dishonesty and criminal misappropriation." Indeed, the Prosecution counsel himself, had to admit, that there was not a single untrue statement in the complaint! Mr. Justice Beaman further said: "Mr. Tilak said to the Magistrate exactly what he had said to Nagpurkar himself. He said 'Nagpurkar has been in posses-

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sion of a great deal of valuable jewellery belonging to the estate ; we have now dismissed him ; we have called upon him to surrender the property and account for it ; he declines ; from his conduct and these circumstances I have strong reason to suspect that he had criminally misappropriated some of it and I invoke your assistance as Magistrate to make him answer, to make him give an account of himself and his property'. I believe 99 out of 100 persons would have done exactly what Tilak did." And yet Mr. Tilak had to fight full 8 months before he could extract this clear judicial statement on such a simple question.

But this was only the first charge. Mr. Tilak, no doubt was successful here; but six remained. The next in order related to forgery and fabrication of false evidence. But these were triable by a Sessions Court with the aid of a jury while the last and the mildest of all charges did not require the aid of a jury. Apparently the Prosecution had not the courage to take the case to a jury. Mr. Tilak formally applied to the Magistrate requesting him to take up the more serious charges first. But the challenge—for so it was—was not accepted. Mr. Tilak was tried for perjury by Mr. Clements, the Special Magistrate and on 24th August 1903 was convicted and sentenced to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment to which a fine of Rs. 1,000 was added.

" Mr. Clements had kept ready a warrant for the Police and he refused to interfere in their discretion which was evidently to result in Mr. Tilak's removal to jail without being allowed a sufficient time to give instructions for lodging the appeal by his pleaders on the spot. All this, however, was anticipated, so that the appeal-

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memo was drawn almost completely at home, by Mr. Tilak himself and his pleaders who knew what to expect in that day's judgment. Mr. Tilak was removed to jail immediately after the pronouncement of sentence on him, even to the surprise of the Sessions Judge himself who, while admitting the appeal and ordering his release on bail, almost without any arguments from Mr. Khare (Mr. Tilak's counsel), openly expressed his surprise at and disapproval of the indecent haste shown in the execution of the Jail Warrant."*

Mr. Lucas, the Sessions Judge, reduced the sentence but confirmed the conviction. Mr. Tilak was handcuffed and taken to the Yeravda jail (Jan. 4th 1904) whence he was released on January 8th by an order of the High Court. The handcuffing of Mr. Tilak aroused intense public indignation. Said a Calcutta Daily :—

" We were not by any means prepared for the startling and shameful tidings which reached us yesterday ; the news of a distinguished gentleman of Bombay having been, in the Court and in the presence of the District Judge of Poona, manacled as a common felon. We say at once, and we say with the strongest feelings, shame upon the perpetrators of this foul and disgraceful act!! Whence the necessity for handcuffing Mr. Tilak ? Was it through fear of his escaping ? Nothing of the kind. It was, as some might say, to gratify the spite of a few Government underlings, who experienced the delight which the cowards always feel by treading on the fallen man. * * * * Our only wonder is and we wonder much indeed, why the Governor of Bombay stands by, with his

* From the *Mahratta* (March 6th, 1904).

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hands in his pockets, when in his Presidency such a shameful act takes place . . . ."

Proceedings in the revisional appeal in the High Court commenced on February 24th, 1904. On the third of March, judgment was delivered. It was worthy of the judicial independence of that legal luminary, Sir Lawrence Jenkins. Mr. Tilak's conviction was quashed and the fine was ordered to be refunded. The Advocate-General wisely withdrew the remaining five charges.

After the criminal case was thus disposed of, the civil case for the declaration of adoption, filed on September 23rd 1901 and adjourned, pending the criminal trial, was again taken up by the 1st Class Subordinate Judge in June 1904. In this case, also, evidence had to be taken on commission at Aurangabad, Amraoti and Kolhapur. This work occupied several months. The First Class Subordinate Judge decided (July 31st 1906) the case in Mr. Tilak's favour. The opposite party (that of Bala Maharaj)* appealed to the High Court (Octo. 3rd 1906). About two years were taken in translating the records. The Bombay High Court eventually decided (1910) against Mr. Tilak. Leave was obtained (1911) to appeal to the Privy Council and the translated exhibits were printed and sent to England in April 1914. On March 26, 1915, the Privy Council quashed the decree of the High Court and restored that of the Sub-Judge. In spite of this clear decision, the

* Tai Maharaj died in September 1903; and then her work was continued by Bala Maharaj who claimed to have been adopted son by her. Thus, it was a fight between Bala Maharaj and Jagannath Maharaj.

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Bombay Government delayed the execution of the decree on executive grounds and the estate was received by Jagannath Maharaj from the Court of Wards as late as Feb. 1917.

We have already seen, how Mr. Aston, by his obstinate persistence in importing irrelevant matter in the hearing of Tai Maharaj's application for revocation of the Probate, had succeeded in inflicting an amount of mental torture upon Mr. Tilak and in prolonging unnecessarily the proceedings by a few years. Had Mr. Aston resisted the temptation of going into the question of adoption and trying to find matter for which Mr. Tilak could be criminally taken to task, the case would not have assumed these disproportionate dimensions. It would seem that the lesson of Mr. Aston was lost upon Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, who imported into his judgment the criminal proceedings against Mr. Tilak. The rebuke of the Privy Council on this point is severe:—

"Their Lordships have viewed with surprise the charge which is made not only against the trustees but against the whole body of the Plaintiff's witnesses. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar in his judgment states 'we are driven to believe that a considerable number of men of good position have conspired together to give false evidence.' The conclusion thus is of the most serious character amounting to a plain judicial finding of conspiracy and perjury. *Their Lordships* (*however*) *do not think that one word of it is justified by the evidence in the case**. Referring to Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar observes that: 'They were men of mature years, of exceptional education and mental

* The italics are ours.

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qualities, lawyers and men of affairs of great repute and good standing and both men of dominating personality.' Some of the witnesses who gave evidence for the Plaintiff are also persons of considerable standing. It is difficult to understand how these men, with no object to gain and no interest to serve, could be supposed to have entered into the conspiracy and committed the perjury which the High Court judgment found. *The conclusion come to by the learned Judges* (*is*) *entirely unwarranted on the facts**.

" Large masses of irrelevant matter (have been introduced in the Judgment of the High Court Judges). In July 1903 proceedings were begun to revoke the probate granted to the trustees and subsequently criminal proceedings were instituted in respect of perjury. Their Lordships regret to observe that not only are the circumstances with regard to the criminal proceedings referred to in the present litigation by the parties but that the depositions therein, become matter apparently of materiality in the judgment of the learned judges of the High Court.

" *This was an irregularity of a somewhat serious character**. Particularly the depositions in the Criminal Case seem to have been imported in bulk into the present. *There is a risk, by such procedure, of justice being prevented**. A civil cause must be conducted in the ordinary way and judged of by the evidence led therein. The depositions could not have been used to support the evidence of the Plaintiff. There (is) no warrant for using them for the purpose of either contradicting or discounting the evidence. It was stated to their Lord-

* The Italics are ours.

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ships that the prosecution for perjury had in the end completely failed. Successful or unsuccessful, the introduction of the criminal proceedings in this civil action (was) illegitimate.

"A further mischance in point of procedure must now be mentioned. As already stated, the testimony of the Plaintiff's witnesses is not contradicted orally, and is internally a consistent body of evidence. But various minutes and documents are the subject of minute analysis, observation and comment by the learned Judges with a view to rebutting it. Their Lordships think it right to observe that, in view of the serious nature of the verdict of the High Court, they have considered it within their province themselves to peruse the documents. Having done so, they are of the opinion that, taken together, they completely confirm the case made in the witness box and that there is no ground for the conclusion that they either contradict the testimony or cast reasonable doubt upon it."

The part, the Government played during the course of this case, decidedly lowered the people's respect for them. It is certainly an unconscious tribute they paid to Mr. Tilak. During the last hundred years, India has produced a number of patriots whose distinguished abilities and remarkable services to the cause of India's freedom will forever lie recorded in our History. If, out of these many persons, Government singled out Mr. Tilak for their kind attentions, what does the fact show? It was not by mere accident that Mr. Tilak was thus persecuted for well nigh two decades. It was because the Government dreaded the personality and the prestige of this Poona Brahmin that they went out of their way

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in using the Tai Maharaj case for their political vendetta. There were, and there are leaders whose record of political service might be longer than that of Mr. Tilak. But they have not disdained to bask in the Sunshine of Government favour. In spite of their brave fights, they have more delighted in co-operating with Government. Their efforts in the cause of the Nation were made in the leisure of business or profession. They devoted their attention only to the intelligent few and never cared to approach the masses. In these and several other respects Mr. Tilak's career bears a striking contrast to theirs and it was this new ideal of leadership which Mr. Tilak placed before himself and the country that frightened the Bureaucracy. It was Mr. Tilak's virile methods of political agitation that were responsible for the implicable hostility with which he was pursued. Mr. Tilak never made complaints, he never sought relief. He knew that such persecutions were the necessary price he had to pay. But we may now ask "What did the Government gain by all this?" They could neither bend nor crush Mr. Tilak. They only succeeded in getting deserved odium for having unduly harassed a righteous man.

The apathy with which Mr. Tilak's political opponents in the Presidency could behold the conspiracy that well-nigh threatened to engulf him, is no less reprehensible. They had undoubted influence with the Government; they had very frequent occasions of meeting very high officers of the Government. Did they ever utter a word of protest regarding the Government's attitude in respect of this case? Did they do their duty by Mr. Tilak? Nobody ever thinks of holding the

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Moderate leaders responsible for Mr. Tilak's troubles in the Tai Maharaj case. But their indifference to Mr. Tilak's fate is certainly culpable. We have yet to learn how to shield or protect our brethren even though they belonged to the opposite school. The Moderates might freely quarrel with the Extremists but while facing the Government, we all must present a united front.

This long struggle was not without its benefits to Mr. Tilak. No doubt, it left him very little leisure, especially in the earlier stages of the case. It did not enable him to take part in public activities with his characteristic ardour. Once he had to absent himself from the Congress; on another occasion he was too busy with the case to find time to give evidence before the Police Commission. He had to cancel so many public engagements; he had to restrict his activities to the narrowest possible limits. We do not deplore all this undoubted loss for the reason that this period (1901-1904) synchronised with that of the political reaction of which Lord Curzon was the most distinguished author. Until the reaction had reached its height, the movement of Regeneration could not start.

When, with the Partition of Bengal, the movement of Regeneration started, Mr. Tilak had come unscathed out of this fiery ordeal. The glory of martyrdom with which he started work was not the most important benefit he had derived from the Tai Maharaj case. Mr. Tilak himself was changed. The Tai Maharaj case aimed at knocking the bottom off his character; the course of its first stage (1901-1904) tested and strengthened his character. The vast conspiracy aimed at

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proving him to be nothing better than a perjurer utterly collapsed and Mr. Tilak could not, out of the gratitude of his heart, but recognize the Divine Hand that saved him from the machinations of the tremendous odds against him. The realisation. of this Divine favour created a revolution in his mentality. With all his great and heroic qualities of the heart—his sterling self-sacrifice, his magnificent courage, his genuine humanity and his inborn purity, it must be admitted that Mr. Tilak was more of a *Dnyanin* than of a *Bhakta*. The immense intellectual and other powers lavishly bestowed upon him by an all-wise Providence were somewhat inconsistent with that tenderness, pathos and humility which are the essential characteristics of a *Bhakta*.. But the the excruciating mental tortures of the Tai Maharaj case—we are talking of the earlier stages—convinced him, how weak, how little man after all is, in spite of his intellectual and moral powers, and how in the last resort we have to depend upon dispensations from Above. When his enemies had gathered thick about him and had well nigh caught him in their toils, Mr. Tilak's spirit conferred with the Divine and strong in the consciousness of Divine support, hurled defiance at those mortal enemies. From this period Mr. Tilak's speeches and writings shine with the fire of a prophet. To him the national struggle ceased to be merely intellectual. It was now no longer a fight of arguments. His politics was now spiritualised. It was this spiritual fire that enabled him to tide over reverses yet in store for him and bring his country within the sight of the Promised Land.

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CHAPTER X

THE NEW PARTY

Bal Gangadhar Tilak is a Maratha Brahmin, thinker and fighter in one. His is the brain that conceived, his is the pen that expressed, his is the force that has directed the extra-ordinary movement against which the bureaucracy is now calling up all its resources.

The Morning Leader in 1908.

THE year 1905 forms a land-mark in Indian History. In that year was carried out the fatal Partition of Bengal. The whole Province was thrown into a ferment. The Bengalis heartily disliked the odius measure. Appeals were made, monster petitions were sent to the Parliament. Then came the Bycott. It encouraged *Swadeshism*. The *Swadeshi* movement quickly outgrew its economic or political nature and became a movement for National Regeneration. The Nation called for Swadeshism in dress, in diet, in habits, in life, in arts, in literature, in science, in religion and philosophy. *Swadeshism* thus became an all-pervading spiritual movement directed against the Western Civilisation which the British Government represented and symbolized. The Boycott bade fair to develop into a movement of Passive Resistance. Young men enrolled themselves as National Volunteers for peaceful participation in public life. The Government retaliated with the Risley Circular and the Carlyle Circular. The

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Nation demanded a National Course of Education. Money flowed in like water ; the National University of Bengal was established. These activities provoked the official world. Repression, the favourite weapon of despots, was resorted to. The leaders of the movement were publicity humiliated ; meetings were dispersed with regulation *lathis*. The path of repression is generally perilous and slippery, and it is no wonder that "the Bureaucracy marched from one repression to another." The armoury of repressive measures was replenished. The Deportation Act of 1818 was hunted out and Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were spirited away to Burma (1907). Mr. Tilak was tried for sedition (1908) and transported. The Nationalist Party was routed. Babu Ashvini Kumar and eight other popular leaders were deported. A few crumbs of reforms, niggardly given and avidly accepted, were the reward of the surviving Party of Moderates who had shown their loyalty by rallying round the Bureaucratic banner. Eventually the Partition of Bengal was modified in 1911.

The Partition of Bengal, hateful as it was, consolidated that sense of Indian Nationality which common serfdom, wesstern education and the National Congress had done so much to foster. It is, however, remarkable that outside Bengal, those of the English-educated Indians who had hitherto too much paraded their "All India view" did the least to show in a practical way their sympathy with Bengal. Mr. Tilak, on the contrary, who owing to his Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, was regarded to have encouraged a spirit of particularism, was to the forefront, anxious to do his "little bit"

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for lacerated Bengal. He had nothing but contempt for those wise-acres, who were ready with their statistics and free-trade theories to throw cold water on popular enthusiasm, who harped on the eternal theme of our weakness and our want of organization and who were afraid of the plentiful resources of the Government. Mr. Tilak, while admitting the force of all reasonable objections, declared that even an ineffectual struggle in the face of tremendous odds was itself no mean achievement. He could never subscribe to the theory of "learning to swim on land."

With the commencement of the anti-Partition agitation, Mr. Tilak emerges from his life of Provincial Leadership and becomes the leader of the "Newborn" Nationalist Party in India. Till 1905, our public life could hardly be said to have been National. The Press did indeed keep us from relapsing into our provincial ruts, but even the Press or the Congress had not visibly created that fellow-feeling with delights in mutual help, support and encouragement. Most of the leaders in the country were known only in their provinces. A brilliant member of the Imperial Legislative Council, a dominating leader in the National Congress or an unbending fighter with the despotic bureaucracy did indeed get a recognition which was something more than provincial. But that free, swift interchange of thought and that inter-dependence of policies and actions which an organised National Life presupposes was totally absent. The cruel wrong done to Bengal, the solid agitation which the Bengalis started, together with the widespread discontent caused by the reactionary policy of Lord Curzon, afforded Mr. Tilak the long-

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coveted opportunity of consolidating our feeling of Indian Nationality by leading an All-India Movement for the double purpose of righting the wrong and awakening and organizing the country.

This was a task for which he was pre-eminently qualified. In his own province, his immense popularity, due to twenty-five years of courageous, self-sacrificing and single-minded work enabled him to carry the message of Swadeshi and Swaraj down to the most distant hamlets. He had trained up a number of people in the work of organization and agitation. Hundreds of his students, scattered over the Presidency had received incentive to public activities from his personal contact and his weekly writings in the *Kesari*. His frequent tours in Maharashtra had enabled him to organize his province for National work and so successful was his organization that no sooner did he sound the slogan of Swadeshi and Boycott than the note was echoed and re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of Western India. Not a village in the province but had its swadeshi meetings; not a town but had its swadeshi shops.

But this was not the only work Mr. Tilak had to do now. There is no work more difficult than of directing, organizing and controlling movements in such distant places as Bengal, the Punjab and Madras. The difficulty lies in the fact that while the initiative in several matters must be left to the leaders on the spot, the whole movement must present a single idea and a single purpose manifested in consistent and uniform activities. The leader of the whole movement must needs be a man who will command respect and obedience and whose

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instructions would be carried out in spirit. He must act both as a stimulant and a sedative; he must use spurs or draw reins according to necessity. From all the great Nationalist leaders—Messrs. Bepin Chunder Pal, Arabindo Ghose, Lajpat Rai, G. S. Khaparde, G. Subramanya Ayer—Mr. Tilak received that homage to which his genius, sacrifices and long uninterrupted services of the country fully entitled him. The organization of the Nationalist Party also involved the work of fighting with the Moderates both in and out of the Congress. This was no easy thing; for the Moderate Party, moribund though it was, controlled most of the National organisations of the day; its leaders, with their long record of public service, were capable beyond question, learned beyond compare, resourceful and domineering. They were the last persons to allow themselves to be swept away. It required all Mr. Tilak's genius, aided of course by the powerful ability of his political colleagues, to give a rub to the Moderates. In the Congress he was the only man who could beard the Bombay Lion; and his consumate mastery of all weapons of intellectual warfare enabled him to measure swords with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

Mr. Tilak once said that every such movement ought to be judged by a triple standard (1) The actual work it does (2) the moral force it awakens and (3) by the intellectual revolution it brings about. The anti-Partition movement soon lost its provincial character and became a movement for National Regeneration and the attainment of *Swaraj*. The swadeshi spirit stimulated the establishment of several industries hitherto starving. Swadeshi shops were opened everywhere; Swadeshi

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exhibitions were held to popularize the work of the new industries. The *Paisa* fund, originally started by a Mr. Kale, became under Mr. Tilak's guidance the most popular means of collecting funds for starting suitable industries. Spinning and weaving industries began to thrive. Education and Temperance received a great impetus. In short, the movement was on the right lines and promised brilliant results.

But it is the misfortune of every infant democracy to be called upon to do constructive work with one hand while with the other it is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the powers that be.

The moral force which the movement roused was simply astonishing . We have seen, how under the reactionary *regime* of Lord Curzon, disappointment and a sense of humiliation hung like a pall over the country. The *swadeshi-boycott* movement dispelled all these clouds. It created hope and enthusiasm in the minds of Indians. "Self-reliance, no mendicancy" became the watchword of the people. The National self-respect was fully awakened. People refused to take insults lying down. They refused to allow the foreign Bureaucrats to be arbiters of our destinies. They were willing to suffer for their convictions. They came forward in their hundreds to go to gaol. Young men worked as pickets or volunteers and received sound elementary training in public life. A hopelessly disorganized nation seriously began to organise itself. The land of disunity was slowly closing up its ranks. Even the "depressed" classes joined, heart and soul, the movement and on two occassions, Mr. Tilak was the recipient of their *pan-supari*. A spirit of unity and

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equality was abroad. Mr. Tilak was everywhere praised for declaring, in a public lecture, that all castes are equal and that graduation of castes is foreign to Hindu religion and is unsupported by Vedic texts. Meetings were held not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands. Poets sang of patriotism. A truly National Literature was born. The great revival promised to sweep away all barriers and deluge the country.

The intellectual revolution produced by the movement was more remarkable still. When Lord Curzon cut Bengal in twain with a stroke of pen, the centre of gravity of all our activities changed from the Government to the people. It was Ranade who once said that our petitions, though mainly drawn out for Government were also intended to awaken the people. The Nationalist party went a few steps further and declared that all our writings and speeches were intended for the people; Government might, if they wanted, take note of them.

The boycott movement gave a deathblow to all the free-trade theories in which the generation represented by the majority of the then leaders was trained up. People clearly came to realize how England had strangled Indian Industries and they were determined, in the absence of any protective tariff in the interest of Indian manufactures, to boycott British goods.

But the greatest contribution made by the movement to the political life of the country was the fixing of the goal of all our endeavours. Ours is perhaps the first instance in the history of the world, where for a couple of generations, the children of the soil did believe their conquerors to be their deliverers. Mr. Tilak was the first to give a rub to this easy-going faith. His Shivaji

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festival, with its inevitable suggestion of the ideal of *Swaraj* was an eye-sore not only to the Anglo-Indians but to the Moderates as well. The former openly called it sedition, the latter probably thought pretty much in the same way and refused to take part in it. It was reserved for the anti-partition agitation to place before the country a definite ideal, freed from the confusing verbiage that characterised our thought till 1905. Mr. Tilak's ideal thus became the ideal of the country and it was "imposed" upon the National Congress by no less a personage than Dadabhai Naoroji. Neither Mr. Tilak nor Mr. Naoroji preached anything beyond the colonial form of self-government. But the bitter disappointment caused by the Partition of Bengal, together with the utter loss of faith of the people in the sincerity of the rulers carried the ideal of self-government to the logical length. If Mr. Tilak has on a few occasions defended absolute autonomy as being a perfectly 'legal' ideal, we should not forget that even Lord Morley has nothing to say against it and that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has in his Allahabad speech (1907) declared that *he would not put any limit to the aspirations of the people.*

It was not so much the difference of opinion regarding the ultimate ideal that gave birth to the two schools of thought,—'Moderate and Extremist'. Ideals do not so much affect every day work as ways and means. In a word, the two parties were divided on 'Boycott'. The attitude of the Moderates was determined by three things (1) They had not utterly lost their faith in the British Government or the Indian bureaucracy. (2) They had not the courage to go to the logical length of propositions conceded by them. (3) They were oppressed

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with an undue sense of the power of the Government and an inordinate consciousness of India's weakness. Mr. Tilak thought otherwise. He said :—

"We do not believe in philanthrophy in Politics. There is no instance in history where a foreign nation has ruled another without any expectations of profit. We believe in Lord Morley and in the genuineness of his professions as a philosopher. The old school thinks that politics could be governed by the dictates of philosophy ; we hold that these are quite different things and ought not to be mixed up together. The old school thinks that concessions could be secured by logical persuation.

"Mr. Gokhale believe in sacrifice. He calls upon the people to be up and doing. He accepts even passive resistance as a constitutional weapon. He admits that the Bureaucracy here is callous and the Democracy at 'Home' is indifferent. He allows that our efforts have not yet borne sufficient fruit. He declares that the situation is critical. In all this he is at one with the New Party. But when it comes to action he will say 'My friends, let us still wait a little. No use flouting the Government. They will suppress us.' It, therefore, comes to this. Mr. Gokhale belongs in theory to the New Party, and in practice to the old one."

One of the greatest defects of the Moderate leaders has been their habit of clinging to unmeaning words and phrases. One such was "Constitutional agitation." Mr. Tilak called upon the Moderate leaders to explain if India had got any constitution. "Can we prevent the violation even of those common rights we have ? Can we punish these violations by holding the executive

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Government responsible? The only 'constitution' we have is the Penal Code!" Mr. Gokhale in his Allahabad lecture admitted in one breath that every form of agitation from the non-payment of taxes down to the sending of petitions is constitutional; and in another he declared that "constitutional agitation is an agitation to bring about changes in the administration *through the constituted authorities!*" This novel interpretation of a well-known phrase in constitutional law excludes such severe forms of agitation as the non-payment of taxes!

Mr. Tilak held that though our agitation would be law-abiding in the ordinary sense of the term, still it all rested with the Government whether to make it legal or illegal. A movement which was perfectly legal to-day could by a fiat of the Bureaucracy be made illegal to-morrow. We would certainly refrain from rebellion, murder, arson, and the like. But barring this well-understood limit, there was none other which we could put to our endeavours. Our agitation could not be *constitutional* because we have had no constitution worth the name. It could not be exactly *legal* as the power of making laws rested with those whose interests clashed with ours. Therefore, said Mr. Tilak, justice, morality and history must be our only guides.

En passant we may note that when last year the question of changing the creed of the Congress came before the chosen leaders of the people, Mahatma Gandhi with his unerring sagacity, rejected both the words "constitutional" and "legal" and in their place put in "peaceful and legitimate methods," an unconscious paraphrase of the triple limitations of justice, morality and history put by Mr. Tilak.

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Many an admirer of Mr. Tilak has deplored his lack of the gift of the gab. Persons are not wanting who say " Had Mr. Tilak been an orator, he would have vanquished the Moderate party long before he actually did."..Though not an eloquent speaker, Mr. Tilak was always an effective one. Even so fastidious a critic as the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has recorded his praise of Mr. Tilak's speech (at the Calcutta Congress of 1896) on Quinquinnial Provincial Contracts. Another Congress speech of Mr. Tilak was pronounced, by a high authority to have had " a genuine Maratha ring about it." Mr. Tilak's platform speeches, English or Marathi, always produced profound impression on his hearers; for, as Lord Morley says " Political oratory is action not words; action, character, will, conviction, purpose and personality." Mr. Tilak, deficient in words, had enough of character and personality. These made him quite irresistible.

The *Indian Patriot* describes Mr. Tilak's political oratory in the following judicious words :—

" Of all political thinkers in India, Mr. Tilak has the invaluable gift of shedding dry light on the subject of his discourse, without converting his address into an appeal to our emotions merely. Nor does he desire to re-iterate commonplace observations and stale and superficial sentiments. On the other hand, it has been his aim whenever he comes forward to make a public pronouncement, to convince the intellect of his hearers, to overcome the doubts and difficulties of his audience, and to take up the strongest position of his opponents and establish his own, in the light of reason and logic, as the more sustainable ground. . . . He does not give

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the impression of one who has been hustled to take up an attitude or who desires to hustle others into an opinion which he has ready for them. He argues out the position logically and unflinchingly and leaves it to others to judge whether his conclusions deserve their assent or not. . .He dissects the position, as a biologist would dissect an organism, and with cold conviction explains the bearing of each dissected part to the rest and is content if he is able to be plainly and unerringly understood."

Another critic (The *Indian People*) is no less eulogistic :—" As a speaker, Mr. Tilak has nothing of the demagogue or the impassioned platform orator about him. There are no high-sounding phrases, no flights of rhetoric. His manner is subdued and free from gesticulation. The sentences are terse; the language is simple and direct. . . . . He appealed to the intelligence of his audience and not to their sentiment. The real power lay in the matter of his speech and not in the manner. There were no generalisations, no enunciation of abstract principles in flowery language. Every statement was clear and every point was driven home with a readiness of illustration and power of antithesis that showed the power of the speaker and the subtlety of his intellect. Every issue was put plainly and uncompromisingly. But there was no violence of language or denunciation, not a trace of passion either in word or gesture. After hearing him it was not difficult to understand that he is the most powerful and the most influential leader of the New Party, a party by no means confined to Bengal."

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It is quite natural that when the Nation had, with grim determination, undertaken to find its own salvation, the powers that be should try to put us down by every means at their disposal. The Bureaucrats determined to separate the Mahomedans from the Hindus, and the Moderates from the Extremists ; they resolved to replenish their armoury of repressive laws, to crush the Extremists and break that solidarity which was growing in various provinces. The Bureaucracy knew that to placate Lord Morley they would have to give their consent to the inauguration of a few political reforms here and there ; so they practically entered into a compact with the Liberal but too philosophical Secretary of State by means of which 'honest John' was to acquiesce in their repression and they agreed to tolerate political concessions. England had just concluded an alliance with Japan ; our rulers had therefore nothing to fear from any complications abroad. They had thus greater facilities to repress us than their successors in 1914 and 1920, and so with ruthless severity they tried the axe of repression on the tender plant of the National Movement.

The Swadeshi movement, with its watchwords of self-help and self-government, powerfully affected the imagination of the Indian student world. Students became the greatest bulwark of the National agitation. There were well-meaning persons who held that students ought to stand aloof from the public life of the country. Even Mr. Gokhale, though willing to allow students "to take interests in what was going on around" them was not in favour of allowing them to take an active part even in the elementary work which

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neither breeds nor " leads to dissension and disintegration." Mr. Tilak, on the contrary emphatically held that the " students of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow "and that it was their duty not only to study public questions but to devote part of their leisure in such work as was allotted to them by the trusted leaders of the country. Mr. Tilak said that though it was convenient for the Bureaucracy to forget the part which the youth of England played in the public life of England, India must never neglect to train up her youth in public spirit. If the Risley Circular was to prevent free expression of thought in youth, if the Government Servants' Rules were to prohibit us from participating in public activities in manhood, and if the Pensioners' Code was to guide our actions in old-age, when, indeed was a man independent? Mr. Tilak emphatically condemned the actions of those who, because a particular student attended a *swadeshi* meeting, fined him in the name of discipline! If, he said, a severe enforcement of false discipline be the price of our acceptance of Government Grant or of the affiliation with the University, why, in the name of patriotism and self-sacrifice should we not break off these chains and declare our educational independence? He accepted the right of elders to guide the students. But he refused to accept the right of any parent, much less teacher, to cut off the light of knowledge and patriotism from the school and college-going children; and when such a prohibition was made only because the parent or teacher had not the courage to assert himself before an unjustifiable fiat of the Bureaucracy, the students were, Mr. Tilak said, fully entitled to disobey.

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The Students' movement of 1905 was quite different from the educational boycott of the Non-Co-operation Propaganda of to-day. The Non-co-operator would like to empty school and colleges, to mark his protest against the ruinous system of administration. The stimulus which the movement for National Education received in the Anti-Partition days lay entirely in repression. In Bengal, where the student world was harassed and persecuted, the movement of National Education spread like wild fire, and within less than an year since the movement was inaugurated, nearly 10,000 students enrolled their names in the National Schools and colleges, directed by leaders of the Moderate Party like the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and the late Sir Gurudas Banerjea. In Maharashtra, on the contrary, repression being comparatively mild (1905-07), there was less opportunity for National Education to grow. The Samartha Vidyalaya established by Prof. Bijapurkar and patronized by Mr. Tilak was a model institution of its kind and would have shown very good results had not the Government with one stroke of the pen suppressed it (1910).

Mr. Tilak was immensely proud of the Mahomedans. He was convinced that the community with its Imperialistic traditions had a great future before it. He was certain that a combination of the Hindu intellect and the Muslim valour (together with the Parsi enterprise) would be irresistible and was bound to bring about the downfall of the Bureaucracy. He was more afraid of the Moslem *inertia* than of Moslem opposition. When, therefore, Nabob Salli-Mulla Khan held (December 1906) an "Educational Conference" at Dacca and con-

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verted it, at the eleventh hour into a Political League to protest against the Boycott and Swadeshi movements, to uphold the Bengal Partition and to praise Sir B. Fuller to the skies, Mr. Tilak was rather delighted than vexed. He foretold that once the great Muslim Community was aroused, it would outstrip the Hindus in political demands. Of course, he severely condemned the attitude of the Mahomedans on the occasion of the disturbances at Comilla and Jamalpur. He fully approved of the Manifesto of fifteen Bengali leaders including (the Hon'ble Sir) Surendranath Banerjea which described how "Hindu shops have been looted; Hindu temples have been desecrated; the images of Hindu deities have been defiled; the *Cutcheeries* of Hindu Zemindars ransacked; Hindu women have been outraged"; he condemned in scathing terms officers and Mahomedans alike who were responsible for this lawlessness. But he knew that a day would come when the "favourite wife of Sir B. Fuller" would be awakened to a full sense of her duty and would no longer allow the Bureaucrats to "Divide and Rule' us.

With the growing awakening in the Nation, the tide of Repression began to rise. Lord Morley, from his philosophical seat in the India Office was unable to arrest either the one or the other. From his Presidential chair at Benares, Mr. Gokhale had told the world how he "felt towards Mr. Morley as towards a Master" and how his heart leapt "with hope and fear" at the appointment of the Biographer of Gladstone to India Office. Mr. Morley, so trusted and revered, did not hesitate in his budget Speech (June 1907) 'reluc-

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tantly to call the Educated Indians as enemies. The student of Mill and Bright repeatedly declared "so long as my imagination could reach, India for a long time to come, must continue to be the theatre of absolute and personal rule;" and yet the Moderates were ready, nay, eager to welcome his reforms as being "generous and just!"

This policy of "hearty repression and halting concessions" created an acute situation, straining almost to the breaking point the already delicate relations between the Moderates and the Extremists. In the next chapter, we shall see how these relations culminated into the unfortunate split at Surat.

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CHAPTER XI

TILAK AND THE CONGRESS—II

The days of absolute leadership are gone, never to return back.

N. G. Chandavarkar

ELSEWHERE we have traced Mr. Tilak's connection with the Congress from 1889 down to the early years of the present century. We have seen, how, in the period of political re-action, beginning 'with 1897, the Congress leaders showed their "statesmanship," by scrupulously following a policy of Moderation, which, very often meant inaction, timidity or indifference to the National good. Ever since his return (1899) to public life after one year's incarceration,Mr. Tilak had been fighting with these tendencies in and out of the National Congress. but what with his pre-occupations in the *Tai Maharaj* Case, and what with the small following he had in the Congress, he could not effectually raise his voice against the policy of inertia and negation, which Sir Pherozeshah later came to glory in. From 1905, however all this was changed. The wave of awakening in the country strengthened the nascent New Party and Mr. Tilak could get that amount of following in the Congress which was required to put up a fair fight. This tended to enliven the proceedings of the Congress and increase

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its popularity. Mr. Tilak determined that the Congress should no longer retain its moribund character. He resolved that (1) the Congress tradition of seeking official favour, or at least official recognition must be broken; (2) the National sentiments must be more faithfully echoed in the Congress resolutions; (3) The Congress must no longer remain a holiday gathering, but must work continuously and lead the National agitations. This was a war between autocracy and democracy, oldage and youth, apathy and enthusiasm, between timidity and courage. The old generation tried to win the officials; Mr. Tilak sought to inspire and organize the people of the country.

At the Benares Congress (1905) Mr. Tilak got much, though not all, that he wanted. Sir Pherozeshah, "the Autocrat of the Congress" was absent; and the President, Mr. Gokhale, had enthusiastically championed the Bengalees' cause in England and had justified the inaguration of the Swadeshi Boycott movement in speeches which came as a surprise to many of his followers. In his Presidential address, he severely criticized the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, compared it with the odious reign of Aurangzeb and spoke in favour of Swadeshi and Boycott. Mr. Tilak wanted separate resolutions on Swadeshi and Boycott. The resolution, justifying the Boycott of British goods, as perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to the Bengalees, was huddled up with the condemnation of the repressive Policy of the Bureaucracy. Mr. Tilak would have liked an independent resolution on the subject. He wanted the Boycott resolution to go one step further and call upon the various Provinces of

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India to prove their sympathy for the Bengalees by adopting Boycott, but evidently, the Moderates were not yet prepared to recommend Boycott for all the provinces. Mr. Tilak, however, was not discouraged. The Congress, he said, had broken its tradition by supporting the Boycott and he looked up to the next Congress at Calcutta, to vigourously continue the work so substantially begun at Benares.

In June 1906, Mr. Tilak paid a visit to Calcutta on the occassion of the Shivaji festival. Soon after, Babu Bipin Chander Pal made the proposal that Mr. Tilak should preside over the Calcutta Congress. This was the first time in the history of the Congress when Mr. Tilak's name was seriously proposed for the highest honour at the disposal of the Nation. Mr. Pal was not content merely with proposing Mr. Tilak's name. He carried on a regular campaign. The Moderates were afraid. Sir Pherozeshah set racking his brains to avert the "catastrophe." Babu Surendranath, evidently smarting under the misrepresentations of the "crowning" incident promised every possible help to the Lion of Bombay. At last a master stroke was delivered A cable was sent to Dadabhai Nooroji, the G. O. M. of India; it said that the Congress was in danger; would Dadabhai return to India and preside over the Congress? The Cable was despatched by Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, the right-hand man of Babu Surendranath. Without consulting his colleagues, without consulting the Reception Committee, he took this step, relying upon Dababhai's innocence and fidelity. Dadabhai was the last man to shirk help when the Congress was reported to be in danger. At once he cabled back an

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affirmative and the Moderates were delighted at having out-witted the Extremists; for it was clear that none would like to contest the honour of the Congress Presidentship with Dadabhai Nooroji.

But though the question of the Presidentship of the Congress was thus settled to the satisfaction of the Moderates, the larger question still remained. "Should the Policy of the Congress be changed?" (The Hon.) Mr. Khaparde, after full consultation with Mr. Tilak sent a Circular letter to leading Congressmen as early as July (1906) wherein he showed how a radical change had been necessitated in the programme of the Congress. The letter attracted considerable attention, specially in Anglo-Indian quarters. It was feared that the Congress would go out of the hands of the Moderates and so Anglo-Indian journals who had abused even Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Gokhale as late as 1904 and 1905 respectively, in a sudden burst of overflowing love, appealed to these very Congressmen not to play into the hands of the Extremists. Some of the Moderates themselves were scared away by Mr. Khaparde's letters. Regarding the main point suggested by the letter, Mr. Tilak said :—(*Kesari* 11th December 1906).

"We are sometimes told not to be dis-heartened. If the Moderates think that we are easily disappointed and lack grim determination, they are entirely mistaken. We have lost faith, not in the ultimate result, but in the dilatory activities of the Congress. To us, the holding of the Congress for three days in the year, the tepid work of the British Congress Committee and the occasional sending of a deputation to England—seems quite an insufficient work. Not that we

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have no faith in 'Constitutional agitation.' We do not want to over-throw the English Government. Political rights will have to be fought for. The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think they can only be got by strong pressure. Will the Congress exert itself to apply this pressure? That is the point; and if such a pressure is to be applied, the Congress must leave this holiday character and develop into an organisation working continuously and energetically."

All India anxiously awaited to see how the Calcutta Congress would give its decision on this point. Anglo-India wanted also to see whether the differences of opinion between the Old and the New Parties would lead to open and permanent rupture. They wanted the Extremists to be driven out of the Congress. But this was an impossibility. In the first place, the Presidential Chair was occupied by the Angel of Peace. Besides, Bengal was a strong-hold of the 'Extremists' and in the Congress session the New Party commanded a majority. The Presidential address was devoted to the theme of *Swaraj*. It, therefore, disappointed the *Englishman* which blamed Dadabhai who "being called upon to quench the flames of hatred towards the British Rule in India, had only used kerosine for that purpose." Mr. Tilak aided by Babu Bepin Chander Pal organised a private meeting of the Delegates of the New Party to discuss the subjects that the Congress should deal with; and at this meeting it was decided to get the Congress adopt three distinct resolutions on (1) Swadeshi, (2) Boycott (3) and National Education. Of these, the last was passed by the Subjects' Committee without any

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ado. The storm of discussion—hot and acrimonious—centred round the *Boycott* and the *Swadeshi* resolutions. At the Benares Congress, *Boycott* was accepted as a political weapon but only incidentally, in the resolution on the repressive policy of the Government. This was merely a flank movement. Mr. Tilak was not content with it. He wanted to make a frontal attack and after a prolonged controversy and frequent passages at arms with Moderate leaders like Sir P. M. Mehta, he wrung out the words "the Boycott movement was and is legitimate." At the Benares Congress it was only the "Boycott of British goods" that had received the seal of the Congress. Now, at Calcutta it was not merely "economic Boycott" but something more, Boycott Political. At Benares no general reasons were given for the acceptance of Boycott. But at Calcutta, the mistake was rectified; and the preamble to the resolution specifically referred to the fact that Indians had no share in the administration and that their representations to Government went unheeded. There was only one thing wanting in the resolution. The resolution approved of the Boycott Movement as started in Bengal; it did not urge other provinces to follow suit. But Mr. Tilak pointed out that neither did the resolution clearly state that the Boycott was to be confined to Bengal alone.

It is strange but true that in the draft resolution on Swadeshi, discussed in the Subjects' Committee, people were not called upon to purchase *Swadeshi* goods *even at a sacrifice;* stranger still that when Mr. Tilak brought the amendment, it was hastily pronounced to have been defeated. Mr. Tilak demanded a poll, which was re-

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fused. As a protest, he had to leave the Subjects' Committee accompanied, by nearly sixty members including distinguished Nationalists like Mr. Pal and Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutt. Mr. Tilak wanted to move his amendment in the open Congress. Accordingly he sent notice thereof to the President, who, at last realising the strength of Mr. Tilak's party accepted the amendment and bodily inserted it into the main proposition. Discord was thus timely averted and Mr. Tilak, speaking to the resolution declared that he was pleased to state that some ideas he favoured had been incorporated in the resolution ; he further said that he was glad they had come to such a solution because the Anglo-Indians had predicted that the 22nd Congress would probably be the last ; he expressed his satisfaction that all differences had been squared, and that both the parties had approached the question in a spirit of conciliation and had met half way.

Summarising the work of the Calcutta Congress, Mr. Tilak said :—

" The Congress has now in effect laid down that *Swaraj* or Self-Government is the goal to be ultimately and gradually attained by the Nation and that, while the Nation may pray and petition to the Government as part of the constitutional agitation and seek the redress of grievances or the fruition of political aspirations, the Nation will mainly rely on its own endeavours to accomplish the object. *Swadeshi*, Boycott, and National Education are the three most potent weapons given into our hands by the National Congress, and with these we must establish *Swaraj*."

At Calcutta, Lala Lajpat Rai had invited the Congress

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to Lahore. But imagining that Napgur was a safer place, Sir P. M. Mehta got the venue of the next Congress fixed at Nagpur. It is said that when the Moderate leaders left Calcutta, it was already arranged that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was to be made President at Nagpur. In the various Provincial Conferences held in the first few months of 1907, attempts were made to go back upon the Calcutta Resolutions and thus prepare the ground for a retrograde step in December. In Bengal, happily there was no such attempt, as both the parties were sufficiently advanced and knew the value of unity. But in the Provincial Conference at Surat, Sir Pherozeshah, taking advantage of Mr. Tilak's absence, tried to overawe the "Extremists" and succeded in dropping the Resolutions on Boycott and National Education. In the Provincial Conference at Raipur (Berar), there was a serious dispute over the singing of such an innocent song, as the "Bande Mataram"; and it was only the presence of Mr. Khaparde that compelled the Moderate leaders to give in. At Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who in the Calcutta Congress had declared that his province would not accept Boycott, refused admittance to about 200 Delegates to the Conference. He put forth the strange plea of inconvenience but presumably he wanted to boycott the supporters of Boycott. All these signs showed how the Moderates were smarting under their "discomfiture" at Calcutta. At Nagpur, a Conference was held on January 27th, 1907, to appoint the Provincial Committee which in its turn met on February 22nd to constitute the Reception Committee. The new constitution of the Congress had practically delegated the work of

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nominating the President of the forthcoming Congress to the Reception Commitee which by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ had to select the President. It was, therefore, natural that the Moderates and the Nationalists should try to secure greater representation for their Parties on the Reception Committee. Each party tried its level best to secure a majority and on September 1st, it was found that while the Moderates had secured 800 Members, the Nationalists had got about 1800. Finding that Mr. Tilak could not be elected President, the Nationalist gave in only 26 names with-holding the long list of 1800 together with the money (Rs. 45,000) collected at the rate of Rs. 25 per voter. The Moderates demanded this money and on the Nationalists refusing to give it, they proceeded to eject the Nationalist Members from the Executive Committee. This they had no right to do as the Executive Committee was already constituted months back. The Hon. Mr. Chitnavis called a meeting of the Reception Committee without consulting the Executive Committee or Dr. Munje, the joint General Secretary. The meeting (September 22nd, 1907) was a fiasco and the Hon. convener was the object of a hostile demonstration on the part of an angry mob. A compromise was attempted. Dr. Gour, himself a Moderate, proposed that the work of the Congress should begin with Rs. 20,000 collected by the Moderates from the 800 enlisted members of the Reception Committee together with a loan of Rs. 5,000 from each party. The Moderates were obstinate. They were unwilling to allow the Nationalists single-handed to hold the Congress Session at Nagpur ; they were unable or afraid to hold it themselves ; they, therefore, did the easiest

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and most inglorious thing; they reported to the All-India Congress Committee their inability to hold the Sessions of the Congress at Nagpur. A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held at Bombay on November 10th, and there, in spite of the protests of Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde, in spite of the willingness of the Nagpur Nationalists to accept *any* compromise for the sake of the reputation of their City and Province, the venue of the Congress was changed to Surat, one of the strongholds of the Moderates.

Alerady the people were in an angry mood. Repression was at work in several part of India. Bombay was comparatively quiet. Far in the South, Rajmahendri, Cocoanada were seething with discontent. More important still were the events in the Punjab, where the mistaken and short-sighted policy of the Bureaucracy in trying to pass into Acts twc Bills—the Colonisation Bill and the Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill—endangered the rights of the people over their lands and made the discontent acute. The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawalpindi District, the increase of the Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal, touched the pockets of even the poorest cultivators and thus created a grave situation. The Editor and the Proprietor of the *Punjabee* were prosecuted and in May 1907 Lala Rajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were deported. This deportation created a storm of indignation and convinced the country of its helplessness in defending its birth-rights. In Bengal, the Editor of *Yugantar* was sent to goil. The Editor of the *Sandhya* refused to conduct his defence because "he did not think that in carrying on the God-appointed

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mission of *Swaraj* he was in any way responsible to the alien rulers." Babu Arabindo Ghosh was arrested on a charge of sedition, and on November 1st, 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed, despite the opposition of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and of the Hon. Mr. Rash Behari Ghosh, and it was rumoured that the liberty of Press was also on the point of being taken away.

On November 11th, 1907, Lala Rajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were released. This news, welcome in each respect, tended to make the Congress "confusion worse confounded." At once, as if by instict, the cry went round that Lajpat Rai was the fittest man to preside. At Surat on November 21st, the Reception Committee was formed and the office bearers of the Congress were appointed. To prevent many of the Congress-men in Maharashtra from attending the meeting, it was announced that the Presidential Election would be made on November 24th. Though thus out-manœuvred, the young Nationalists of Surat and adjoining places stoutly suggested the name of Lala Lajpat Rai for the Presidential post. Mr. Gokhale argued, coaxed, appealed; and when every device proved unavailing, he removed the velvet glove from off his mailed fist, and challenged the younger Nationalists to secure Lala Lajpat Rai's election in the face of the packed majority of the Moderates. The Nationalists were in a fix. They could not allow the Hero of the hour to be humiliated by the unworthy tactics of the Moderates. Silently and sullenly they allowed Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to be 'unaniomously' elected President.

The selection of Dr. Ghose for the Presidential chair was only part of a wider plan of going back upon the

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position accepted at Calcutta and of permanently shutting out the 'Extremists' from all future sessions of the Congress. The *Indu Prakash* and the *Indian Social Reformer* clearly hinted this purpose and the whole conduct of the Moderate leaders all over India in the eventful months of 1907 clearly strengthens this belief. It was the duty of the Moderates and especially that of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who was entrusted with the work of drafting the resolutions to publicly declare if this belief was incorrect and unfounded.* A list of the headings of the subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress was officicially published a week or ten days before the date of the Congress Sessions. This list did not include the subjects of Self-Government, Boycott, National Education on all of which *distinct* and separate resolutions were passed at Calcutta in 1906. This omission naturally strengthened the suspicion that the Bombay Moderates really intended to go back from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress in these matters. The Press strongly commented upon this omission and Mr. Tilak, who reached Surat on the morning of the 23rd December, denounced such retrogression as suicidal in the interests of the country, more especially at the present juncture, and appealed to the Surat public to help the Nationalists in their endeavours to maintain at least the *status quo* in these matters. The next day, a Conference of about five hundred Nationalist Delegates was held at Surat under the Chairmanship of Shrijut Arabindo Ghose, where it was

* We are indebted for the bulk of the contents of the next 8 Pages to the closely-reasoned document published by the Nationalist Leaders soon after the break-up of the Congress.

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decided that the Nationalists should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all Constitutional means even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary; and a letter was written to the Congress Secretaries requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the house, if need be, on every contested proposition, including that of election of the President.

In the meanwhile, a press-note was issued by the Reception Committee to the effect that the statement that certain resolutions adopted in 1906 were omitted from the Congress Programme prepared by the Surat Reception Committee was wholly unfounded; but the draft resolutions themselves were still with-held from the public; on the morning of the 25th December, Mr. Tilak happened to get a copy of the draft of the proposed Constitution of the Congress prepared by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. In this draft, the object of the Congress was thus stated: "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal, the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire. Mr. Tilak, addressing a meeting of the Delegates the same morning, at the Congress Camp, explained how this Constitution was devised to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed an indispensable condition of the Congress membership. Mr. Tilak further stated in plain terms, that if they were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted, the opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn. The Delegates at the meeting were asked to sign a letter to Dr. Ghose re-

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questing him to take up the four old resolutions for re-affirmation.

Lala Lajpat Rai who arrived at Surat on the morning of 25th, saw Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde in the afternoon and intimated to them his intention to arrange for a Committee of a few leading Delegates from each side to settle the question in dispute. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde having agreed, he went to Mr. Gokhale to arrange for the Committee if possible; and Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde returned to the Nationalist Conference which was held that evening. At this Conference, a Nationalist Committee consisting of one Nationalist Delegate from each Province was appointed to carry on the negotiations with the other side; and it was decided that if the Nationalist Committee failed to obtain any assurance from the responsible Congress Officials about *status quo* being maintained, the Nationalists should begin their opposition from the election of the President. For the retrogression of the Congress was a serious step, not to be decided upon by a bare accidental majority of any party either in the Subjects' Committee or in the whole Congress as then constituted, and the usual acceptance of the President would have under such circumstances greatly weakened the point and force of the opposition. No kind of intimation was received from Lala Lajpat Rai on the night of the 25th, or the morning of the 26th December regarding the proposal of a joint Committee of reconciliation proposed by him, nor was a copy of the draft resolutions supplied to Mr. Tilak or any delegates to enable them to judge if sliding back from the old position was really intended.

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On the morning of the 26th December, Mr. Tilak and the other Nationalist leaders went to Babu Surendra-Nath Banerjea at his residence, and informed him that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn if (1) the Nationalist Party were assured that the *Status quo* would not be disturbed, and (2) if some graceful allusion was made by any one of the speakers on the resolution about the election of the President, to the desire of the public to have Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair. Mr. Bannerjea agreed to the latter proposal as he said he was himself to second the resolution ; while as regards the first, though he gave an assurance foı himself and Bengal, he asked Mr. Tilak to see Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. A volunteer was accordingly sent in a carriage to invite Mr. Malvi to Mr. Banerjea's residence, but the volunteer brought a reply that Mr. Malvi had no time to come as he was engaged in religious practices. Mr. Tilak then returned to his Camp to take his meals as it was already about 11 A.M.; but on returning to the Congress Pandal one hour later, he made persistent attempts to get access to Mr. Malvi but could not find him anywhere. A little before 2-30 P.M., a word was brought to Mr. Tilak that Mr. Malvi was in the President's tent, and Mr. Tilak sent a message to him from an adjoining tent asking for a short interview. Mr. Malvi replied that he could not see Mr. Tilak as the Presidential procession was being formed.

These facts will explain the position of the two parties, when the Congress commenced its proceedings on Thursday the 26th December, at 2-30 P.M. No assur-

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ance from any responsible official of the Congress about the maintenance of the *Status quo* being obtained, Mr. Tilak sent a slip to Babu Surendranath, initimating that he should not make the proposed allusion to Lala Lajpat Rai in his speech. He also requested Mr. Malvi to supply him with a copy of the draft resolutions, if ready, and about 3. P.M. he got it, though the reporter of the *Advocate of India* got it on the previous day.

The Congress opened with the address of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. After the address was over, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed Dr. Ghose to the Chair in a speech, which, though evoking occasional cries of dissent, was heard to the end. The declaration by the Dewan Bahadur as well as by Mr. Malvi that the proposing and seconding of the resolution to elect the President was only a formal matter, led many to believe that it was not improbable that the usual procedure of taking votes on the proposition might be dispensed with. And when Babu Surendranath, whose rising on the platform seems to have reminded many of the Midnapur Conference where he was instrumental in getting the Nationalist party headed by Srij. Arabindo Ghose practically ejected with Police aid, commenced his speech, there was persistent shouting and he was asked to sit down. In spite of his numerous efforts, he could not go on and so the Session had to be suspended for the day. It is unjust to suggest that this hostile demonstration was pre-arranged by the Nationalists as what they had decided to do was silently and solidly to vote against the election.

At about 8 P.M., the late Mr. Chunilal Saraya, Mana-

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ger of the Indian Specie Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Surat Reception Committee, accompanied by two other gentlemen, went in his un-official Capacity and on his own account, to Mr. Tilak and proposed that he intended to arrange for a meeting that night between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale at the residence of a leading Congressman to settle the differences. Mr. Tilak agreed and requested Mr. Chunilal if an interview could be arranged, to fix the time in consultation with Mr. Gokhale adding that he (Mr. Tilak) would be glad to be present at the place of the interview at *any hour* of the night. Thereupon, Mr. Chunilal left Mr. Tilak, but no word from him was received by the latter that night.

On the morning of Friday the 27th, (11A.M.) Mr. Chunilal Saraya again saw Mr. Tilak and requested him to go in company with Mr. Khaparde to Prof. Gajjar's bungalow near the Congress pandal where, by appointment, they were to meet Dr. Rutherford, M.P., who was trying for a reconciliation. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde went to Prof. Gajjar's, but Dr. Rutherford could not come there owing to other engagements. Mr. Tilak then decided, as no settlement was arrived at privately owing to every leading Congressman being unwilling to take any responsibility in the matter upon himself, to propose that the business of the election of the President should be adjourned and a Committee of one leading Moderate and one leading Nationalist from each Congress Province with Dr. Rutherford's name added, be appointed to consider and settle the differences existing between the two parties, both of which should accept the Committee's decision as final and then proceed to the *unanimous* election of

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the President. Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Chunilal undertook to convey the proposal to Sir P. M. Mehta or Dr. Rutherford in the Congress Camp; after half an hour they returned and told Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde that nothing could be done in the matter.

It was about 12-30 at this time and on the receipt of the above reply, Mr. Tilak wrote the following note to Mr Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee :—

SIR,—I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.

Yours Sincerely,
B. G. TILAK.
Deccan Delegate (*Poona*).

The proceedings of the day commenced at 1 P.M., when Babu Surendranath was called upon to resume his speech seconding the election of the President. Babu Surendranath was calmly heard by all and he duly finished his speech. As Mr. Tilak got no reply to his note, he sent a reminder. Still Mr. Malvi was silent. Mr. Tilak, therefore, proceeded to go up the platform *immediately* after Babu Surendranath. But he was held back by a Volunteer. Mr. Tilak, however, asserted his right to go up and succeeded in getting to the platform just when Dr. Ghose was moving to take the President's chair. It is not true that "by the time Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the President, the motion of the election of Dr. Ghose had been passed." As Mr. Tilak stood up on the platform he was greeted with shouts of

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disapproval from the members of the Reception Committee on the platform and the cry was taken up by other Moderates. Mr. Tilak repeatedly insisted upon his right of addressing the delegates and told Dr. Ghose when he attempted to interfere that he was not properly elected. Mr. Malvi said that he had ruled Mr. Tilak's amendment out of order, to which Mr. Tilak replied that the ruling, if any, was wrong and that he had a right to appeal to the delegates on the same. By this time, there was a general uproar in the Pandal, the Moderates shouting at Mr. Tilak and asking him to sit down, and the Nationalists demanding that he should be heard. At this stage, Dr. Ghose and Mr. Malvi said that Mr. Tilak should be removed from the platform; and a young gentleman holding the important office of a Secretary to the Reception Committee touched Mr. Tilak's person with a view to carry out the Chairman's order. Mr. Tilak pushed the gentleman aside and again asserted his right of being heard, declaring that he would not leave the platform, unless bodily removed. At this stage, Mr. Gokhale asked the above-mentioned gentleman not to touch Mr. Tilak's person. But there were others who were seen threatening an assault on his person, though he was calmly standing on the platform facing the delegates with his arms folded over his chest.

It was during this confusion that a shoe, hurled on to the platform hit Sir P. M. Mehta on the side of his face after touching Babu Surendranath Banerjea, both of whom were sitting within a yard of Mr. Tilak on the other side of the table. Chairs were now seen being lifted to be thrown at Mr. Tilak by persons on and

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below the platform and some of the Nationalists, therefore, rushed on to the platform to his rescue. Dr. Ghose in the meanwhile twice attempted to read his address but was stopped by cries of 'No, No' from all sides in the Pandal and the confusion became still worse. It was now found impossible to arrest the progress of disorder and the proceedings were then suspended *sine die*.

Dr. Ghose's speech, though undelivered in the Congress Pandal, had been by this time published in the Calcutta papers and telegrams from Calcutta, received in the evening, showed that in the speech he had made an offensive attack on the Nationalist Party. This added to the sensation in the Nationalist Camp that evening but the situation was not such as to preclude all hope of reconciliation. Shrijut Motilal Ghose, Mr. A. C. Mitra, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee and Lala Harkisen Lal tried their best to bring about a compromise and if possible to have the Congress Session revived the next day. They went to Mr. Tilak on the night of the 27th and the morning of the 28th to ascertain the views of his party and to each of them Mr. Tilak gave the following assurance in writing :—

SURAT, 28*th December*, 1907.

DEAR SIR ;—With reference to our conversation and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Behari as President of the 23rd Indian National Congress, and we are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive provided, *firstly* the last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each ex-

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pressly re-affirmed, and *secondly* such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist Party, are omitted."

Your's etc.,
B. G. TILAK.

This letter was taken by the gentleman to whom it was addressed to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at, as the Moderates were all along bent upon the retrogression of the Congress at any cost. A Convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held, in the Pandal, the next day, where the Nationalists were not allowed to go, even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the declaration required. On the other hand, those, who did not wish to go back from the position taken up at the Calcutta Congress and honestly desired to work further on the same lines, met in a separate place the same evening to consider what steps might be taken to continue the work of the Congress in future. Thus ended the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress amidst confusion and in bitterness, leaving the parties more estranged than ever, thus making easy the task of those who were unfriendly to the cause of Indian freedom.

Let us now examine a little minutely Mr. Tilak's contention, that the Congress autocrats were bent upon a retrograde step by tampering with the four Calcutta resolutions, on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. These resolutions had been unanimously accepted at Calcutta after a long and heated discussion between the leaders of both the parties. Resolutions

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like these passed as a compromise between two parties could not be altered even in the drafts by any one only because that gentleman has been entrusted with the work of drafting the Congress Resolutions. At the Calcutta Congress (1906) it was resolved that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India ; at Surat though this resolution was almost repeated still this was set up as the *ultimate* goal, evidently meaning that it was to be considered as out of the pale of practical politics. What offended the Nationalists still more was the draft constitution of the Congress in which the goal of the Congress was defined as follows :—

> " The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire * * *. It seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration * * *."

So then, the *reform* of the existing system of administration and not its gradual replacement by a popular system was to be the immediate object of the Congress. The sting of this seemingly innocent constitution lay in the fact that it sought to convert the *National* Congress into a *party* organisation. As the acceptance of this creed was the condition of the membership of the Congress, the Bengal ' Extremists ' who had repudiated the ideal of Colonial Self-Government were to be shut out of the Congress. When the goal of the Bengal ' Extremists ' *viz,* " Independence (absolute autonomy) by peaceful means " was declared perfectly legal not

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only by the Law Courts* of Bengal but also by Lord Morley, what right had the Moderates to shut out an important and law-abiding section of Indian politicians from the Congress? Mr. Tilak has been often blamed for "coquetting with the views of the Bengal School of Extremist politicians"—these are Mr. Gokhale's words—but though four or five times at the most, in 1907-08 he has *defended* the ideal of his Bengal colleagues and followers, still he has consistently *preached* the ideal set up by Dadabhai Naoroji. If this is to be called inconsistency, what shall we say of those who at Calcutta accepted without demur the National Education Resolution, and who at the very next Provincial Conference at Surat declared that they did not understand what National Education meant?

The draft resolution about the 'Swadeshi movement' did not contain the words 'even at a sacrifice.' Mr. Gokhale later explained that this omission was 'unintentional' and we readily accept his word but the effect of this omission was that the very soul of the resolution was taken out.

Mr. Gokhale has admitted that the changes made by him in the Boycott resolution were intentional. He

* As late as 1909, Mr. Beachcroft, the Judge who tried Srj. Arabindo Ghose and the Maniktola conspirators in the Alipore Bomb Case wrote in his judgment "Independence is an ideal with which no true Englishman would quarrel." This judicial pronouncement was specially significant in view of the fact that Srj. C. R. Das, Counsel for Srj. Arabindo Ghose had repeatedly declared on behalf of his client that if preaching independence was a crime, Srj. Ghose was willing to suffer any punishment that might be awarded to him.

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declared that they were rendered necessasy by the unfair and unjustifiable attempt made by Bapu Bepin Chunder Pal from the Congress platform in 1906 and by Mr. Tilak and others in the Press throughout 1907, to construe the phraseology employed in the Calcutta resolution as approving *Boycott* of all forms of association with the Government. Now, what is the exact wording of the Calcutta resolution? After recounting the reasons, the Congress declared that " the Boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal was and is justifiable." Mr. Gokhale in his draft resolution changed the wording from " Boycott movement " to the " Boycott of foreign (British) goods." As Babu Bepin Chunder Pal said " We in Eastern Bengal and Assam have not only tried to boycott British goods, but all honorary offices and association with Government " and the words " Boycott Movement" were comprehensive enough to include these phases of Boycott while the wording adopted by Mr, Gokhale was evidently narrow.

Regarding the last resolution, the Calcutta Congress said " the time has arrived for the people earnestly to take up the question of National Education * * and to organise a system of education * * on National lines and under National control." Mr. Gokhale's draft concluded with the words " organize an independent system of education," thus leaving the very vital words " on National lines and under National control." Mr. Gokhale might have thought that verbal changes were made here and there to remove ambiguity or to improve the phraseology. Is it not, however, wiser to retain a phraseology, however defective from the literary stand-

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point than endanger the peace and harmony of the Congress? But if these changes *were really vital*—as has been clearly shown—is it not proper to put the whole responsibility of the Surat episode on the heads of those Congress autocrats who, for the sake of a petty scheme of administrative reforms were willing to discard the friendship of their political colleagues and create a situation which made it easy for the Bureaucracy to "make short work of the Extremists"?

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CHAPTER XII

TOWARDS REPRESSION

The stars are blotted out,
The clouds are covering clouds,
*　　*　　*
The sea has joined the fray
And swirls up mountain waves
*　　*　　*
The flash of lurid light
Reveals on every side
A thousand thousand shades.

'Kali' by Swami Vivekananda.

"WHO broke the Congress at Surat?" In reply, we ask, "Who wanted to go back on the Calcutta resolutions?" "Who hailed the Surat split with rapture?" "Who wanted to rally round the banner of Lord Morley?" Not the least important question is "whose conduct was unconstitutional and un-Parliamentary?"

Mr. Tilak sends to the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee a notice of adjournment with a constructive proposal. Writers on constitutional law hold that "a motion for adjourning the debate may be offered at any period of the discussion. Dr. Smith,* the great English authority on the subject remarks that on such occasions "the Chairman will feel bound to

* Author of *Handbook of Law and Practice of Public meetings.*

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put it (*i.e.* the motion of adjournment) to the vote." Mr. Malvi merely 'thinks' it to be 'irregular and out of order'. Mr. Tilak asserts his right to speak. He is not allowed to proceed. The Chairman is anxious to gag him. The President is impatient to read his address. Confusion drowns the rest.

Regarding the diplomatic hurry shown by the Congress authorities in declaring Dr. Ghose duly elected, we may note that such incidents are by no means rare. Let Dr. Smith speak :—

"Sometimes, especially at meetings, where the Chairman and the party appointing him are anxious to have a certain resolution carried and wish to remove every opportunity for opposition to it, the Chairman will insist upon putting it to the vote, the moment it is moved and seconded ; and although some member claims to be heard before the votes are completely taken, the Chairman goes on taking the votes and then tells the member that the question is now decided and he cannot speak to it because it is not before the meeting. In such a case, the member should of course endeavour to attract the Chairman's attention in a way which the latter cannot ignore, and may then proceed to speak *in spite of the Chairman.*"

Mr. Tilak's views on the relations between the Moderates and the Nationalists are sound and refreshing. He says* :—

"Both the Moderates and the Nationalists must remember that persons belonging to both the parties are actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare of he country; and that none is deliberately working to

*The *Kesari.*

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bring about the ruin of the country. If both parties start with this assumption, if both are willing to accept the existence of difference of opinions as inevitable, and as constituting a healthy sign in the body politic, there would be less room for misunderstandings. Both the parties should realise that only in Unity there is safety and that this unity they have to keep in spite of acute differences of opinion. Neither should try to stamp out the other and both should, while exerting their utmost to get the upper hand in the National assemblies conducted by the united efforts of the Moderates and the Nationalists, never abuse their supremacy by trying to crush or cripple their opponents in the other party. The Moderates should remember that it is because the New Party has come into existence that the Bureaucracy condescends to "rally" them. The Nationalists must understand that though the caution and hesitation of the Moderates is often galling to them, still their influence and prestige is not to be despised. If these are the advantages, which one gets from the other, there are some inevitable disadvantages also. The Nationalists have generally to bear the brunt of political fight, but the rewards of the political warfare go invariably to the Moderates. By their association with the Nationalists, the Moderates do sometime receive official taunts and frowns. When taken to task, the Moderates must however point-black tell the authorities that though they differ in many important respects from the 'Extremists', still, so long as the latter are willing to co-operate with them, they would not part company. True, some of the Nationalists have set up "Independence" as the ultimate goal of their

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ambition; but even Lord Morley does not find anything illegal in such "faiths and aspirations." True, also that some of the Nationalists preach boycott which is more than a boycott of British goods, still there is nothing wrong in the Moderates co-operating to the point both the parties are agreed. If these points are kept in mind, the unity between the two parties will be ever-lasting".

In contrast with these statesman-like utterances, read the following petulant and short-sighted remarks of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose :—

"The Extremist Party is an ominous shadow, which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country. . . . . It has no place in the pale of the Congress. Secession, therefore, is the only course open to it. (Turning to his brother Extremists, Dr. Ghose said) you may deny it, but I fear, you are in danger, slowly but surely of drifting into treason."†

Immediately on his return to Poona from Surat, Mr. Tilak commenced collecting funds for starting a Nationalist Daily (Marathi). The Paper—*Rashtra-Mat*—came out in June (1908) and in its very short career, justified its existence by bravely fighting for the National cause. About the end of February (1908) Mr. Tilak started on, what he intended to make, a long tour throughout all

† Undelivered Presidential Address. Since the above lines were written, Dr. Ghose, alas, has passed away. He lived to understand and appreciate the Nationalists and to recognise their place in the National Movement. Indeed, it may be confidently said that latterly, Dr. Ghose's agreed more with the views of Mr. Tilak than with those of his own "friend and master" the Hon. Sir Surendranath Banerjea.

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Marathi-speaking districts of the Presidency in order to collect about five lakhs of rupees to put the *Samartha Vidyalaya,* the well-known National School on a sound basis. He went first to Sholapur and then to Barsi. He was extremely well-received and he collected a sum of Rs. 50,000. He had, however, to return to Bombay to give evidence (9th March) before the Royal Commission of Decentralisation. The work of the Poona District Conference (20th, 21st, and 22nd March) then claimed his attention. Then came the work of organising the picketing at the liquor shops. This movement lasted for about a month. Then he attended the Provincial Conference at Dhulia. To top all, came the bomb (30th April), changing the political atmosphere in its entirety. It threw the shadow of misfortune and failure over every public activity. The *Samartha-Vidyalaya* was subsequently suppressed by the Government (1910).

Mr. Tilak's pithy and closely-reasoned evidence before the Decentralization Commission concluded thus :—

" The mere shifting of the centre of power and authority from one official to another is not, in my opinion calculated to restore the feelings of cordiality between the officers and the people, prevailing in earlier days. English Education has created new aspirations and ideals amongst the people and so long as these national aspirations remain unsatisfied, it is useless to expect that the hiatus between the officers and the people could be removed by any scheme of official Decentralization. In is no remedy—not even a palliative against the evil complained of, nor was it put forward by the people or their leaders. The fluctuating wave of Decentraliz-

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ation may infuse more or less life in the individual members of the Bureaucracy, but it cannot remove the growing estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, unless and until the people are allowed more and more effective voice in the management of their own affairs in an ever expansive spirit of wise liberalism and wide sympathy, aiming at raising India to the level of Self-Governing countries."

The Poona District Conference, which met on 20th, 21st and 22nd March, 1908 bespeaks the resourcefulness, patience, tact and the organizing power of Mr. Tilak. Immediately on his return from Surat, while the dust of controversy still darkened all quarters, he sent round his lieutenants all over the district and established Taluka Associations. Two months of propoganda work left nothing to be desired either in the thoroughness of the preparations or in the representative character of the delegates who attended the Conference from different parts of the district. But that the Moderates should have, so soon after the breach at Surat stood on the same political platform with Mr. Tilak is as great a compliment to their good sense as to Mr. Tilak's tact in managing men. Perhaps the Moderates felt it their duty to accept what they might have thought to be Mr. Tilak's challenge and so they mustered strong. They must, however, have been surprised to find the intellectual tenacity and political zeal of the delegates hailing from the nooks and corners of the district. The late Rao Bahadur Joshi, the famous Statistician, was the President. Fourteen Resolutions were passed. One of them appealed to the leaders of the various parties to sink differences and restore

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unity in the National Congress. Another resolution advocated the Swadeshi and Boycott movement; an attempt was made to substitute the words "boycott of foreign goods" for the words "the Boycott movement" but it met with a miserable failure. A resolution on National Education was also passed and a strong Committee was appointed to work it out. Most of the resolutions were mandates to the people and not appeals to the Government. "Self-reliance, no mendicancy" was the watch-word of this Conference. It was resolved to take steps to encourage sugar industry in Poona, to make an industrial survey of the district, to start at least 25 primary schools during the course of one year, to encourage arbitration and discourage liquor. Altogether a nice programme of work, unluckily required to be totally shelved by the coming of the bomb.

It was a nice and most inspiring speech that Mr. Tilak delivered in the District Conference on the "Evils of Drink." He ridiculed the idea of carrying on "a Temperance propaganda" by means of magic lantern performances and like other methods. These methods according to him, were all right in countries having the hereditary poison of drink in their blood. But where, as in India, morality, religion, social opinion, instinct and heredity were strongly against the use of liquor, picketing was the only way to rouse individual, social as well as the Abkari conscience. He wound up his speech with an impassioned appeal to the young men sitting opposite in the gallery. The effect was electric. A band of youths formed themselves into a Volunteer corps and spontaneously started peaceful picketing before the principle liquor-shops of Poona. It

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would be a mistake to suppose, that this movement was merely impulsive. Years since, it had been in existence; the Swadeshi movement, which in its wider significance was a movement for the reconstruction of the National Life, made it powerful. Especially in Thana, Belgaum and Ahmednagar, systematic efforts had been made to check the evil of drink. It was, however, reserved, for the picketng movement to make "Temperance" which in Indian Vernaculars always means total abstinence, a live issue. Within less than a fortnight, it was estimated that the sale of liquor in Poona City was all but stopped. It was impossible that the keepers of the liquor shops would take this agitation lying down. They tried their best to put obstacles in the way of the Volunteers. But cautious, tactful and well-disciplined that the volunteers were, they worked in spite of rebuffs, insults and provocations. The experiences of the Swadeshi picketing at Calcutta had taught them not to court any collision with the Police; and in their well-meant efforts, they could rely upon the support and advice of three different sections of people, the Nationalists, the Moderates and Loyalists of the type of Dr. Mann and the Rev. Mr. MacNickel the purity of whose motives at least was so far as the Bureaucrats were concerned beyond question. The Volunteers worked under the direct supervision of the Poona Temperance Society, whose members, besides framing stringent rules for the observance of the Volunteers took special care to see that those rules were scrupulously observed. The Volunteers were selected after careful inquiry; the work they were set to do was carefully apportioned. They were strictly directed to

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preach peacefully and modestly to persons entering the liquor shops. On no account were they to use intimidation or force. A deputation consisting of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Tilak, the Rev. Mr. MacNickel and others waited on the then Collector of Poona to discuss the rules and it is said that in accordance with some of his suggestions, certain changes were introduced therein; and still as ill-luck would have it, in spite of every care, caution and foresight exercised, more than 40 Volunteers out of about 150 working in the City were hauled up before the Magistrate and convicted and fined for having disobeyed orders of the Police. Technically they *were* offenders; for the Police had ordered them to stop picketing, which they had refused to do. Undoubtedly, the Policeman has got the power to order any person to quit a place where he is standing on a public street. But where such an order is given only to disallow a peaceful citizen from doing a peaceful legitimate and philanthrophic duty, conscientious persons will feel bound to dis-obey such orders. In this connection, it should be remembered that in Europe and America, pickets are allowed even to enter liquor-shops and there do their work.

The movement spread like-fire in the whole of Maharashtra and in the enthusiasm that it awakened, even Swadeshi and Boycott were for a time forgotten. But the custodians of law and order, afraid that it would lead to disorder, took early steps to "suppress picketing." At Lonavla (near Poona) the District Magistrate issued an order (11th April 1908) under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, enjoining people not to "congregate and loiter daily in the vicinity of the coun-

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try liquor shops at Karla and Lonavla with the purpose of preventing customers from entering the shops." The Magistrate wanted to save " persons lawfully resorting" to the liquor-shops from annoyance. On or about April 17th, instructions were issued to the Poona Police to suppress the movement.

On April 23rd, a huge meeting of about 12,000 persons was held, under the Presidency of Dr. Bhandarkar to protest against the high-handedness of the District Magistrate and to devise means of continuing the work thus interrupted. A deputation consisting of Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Tilak, the Rev. Mr. MacNickel and others was appointed to meet the Governor who received members of the Deputation (In the mean-while Mr. Tilak was arrested on June 24th, 1908) on July 6th, 1908. After expressing his general sympathy with the Temperance Movement, His Excellency Sir George Clarke (Now Lord Sydenham) explained the Government's policy with regard to the sale of liquor, took exception to certain statements made by the members of the Deputation and concluded by saying that though the rules made by the Association were unexceptionable, still it was impossible owing to the difference in individual temperaments to expect uniform and consistent observance of them. He reminded the deputation, how, even at Poona, the rules failed to keep order and how therefore, their universal application was fraught with evil consequences. He concluded " Picketing is an interference with liberty which in Poona, certainly would have the appearance of class legislation, that it would in many places inevitably lead to breaches of peace and to police prosecutions which we all wish to

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avoid, that it cannot permanently promote the object you have in view and that it may help to defeat that object. I sincerely hope, you will not regard this as an arbitrary decision of an alien Government which does not sympathise with your valuable Association."..

A sadder commentary on the incapacity of the Bureaucracy to understand the Indian view-point and a stronger argument for the immediate establishment of *Swaraj* can hardly be imagined.

While engaged in these and other activities Mr. Tilak had not forgotten the question of the Congress-compromise. The first time that this problem was tackled since the Surat split was at the Provincial Conference of United Bengal held in February 1908 at Pabna under the Presidency of Srj. (Dr.) Rabindranath Tagore. In this Conference, both the parties were strongly represented and after full and mature consideration, the Calcutta Resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were passed. The resolution on the Boycott did not speak merely of the Boycott of British goods but referred to the Boycott Movement—words Mr. Gokhale had taken strong objection to at Surat—and it is remarkable that though in the *Swaraj* resolution, demand was made only for Colonial Self-Government still, the Nationalists were allowed to bring in a formal amendment expressive of their longing for absolute Independence. The harmony that prevailed between the Bengal Moderates and the Bengal Nationalists on such heated subjects as Boycott and Self-Government was of happy augury and Mr. Tilak expected the same reasonable attitude from both the parties in the Bombay Provincial Conference that was to be held

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at Dhulia, under the Presidentship of the late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare. The Convention Committee appointed by the Moderates at Surat was to meet at Allahabad in the Easter Holidays; and it was the earnest wish of many that the Bombay Conference should be held before the Easter. But to suit the convenience of the President, it was decided to be held *after* the Easter. At the eleventh hour, however, Mr. Khare refused to preside, and his place was filled by the late Hon. Mr. G. V. Joshi. Before, however, the Conference could meet, the Convention Committee held its sittings at Allahabad and passed certain rules and regulations which were not likely to commend themselves to the Nationalists. The work of Congress compromise thus became more difficult than ever, but with his usual optimism, Mr. Tilak refused to be discouraged. The Dhulia conference commenced its sittings on April 17th. Resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott, and National Education were passed. To the last two Resolutions there was in the Conference a slight opposition. The resolution appointing a Committee to bring about Congress Compromise was moved by Mr. Tilak; speaking to this resolution he declared how suicidal it would be to leave out of the Congress any party pledged to peaceful and "constitutional" methods, only because that party preached independence.

It is not impossible that the Congress Compromise on which Mr. Tilak had set his heart, would have been an accomplished fact long ago, had not the whole political atmosphere been suddenly changed for the worse by the unexpected appearance of the bomb. On April 30th, a bomb intended for Mr. Kingsford, Sessions

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Judge at Mozufferpore struck Mrs. and Miss Kennedy leaving them killed on the spot. This incident created a panic, intensified by the rapid arrests of a number of Bengali youths. The fury of the Anglo-Indian Community knew no bounds and some fanatics like the *Pioneer* and the *Asian* began to cry for blood. The Moderates and the Loyalists were terrified and lost all sense of proportion. The Government was panic-striken. The delicate duty of warning the Government of the dangers of repression, the Terrorists of the utter futility of their doings and the Moderates of the necessity of keeping their heads cool, fell upon the " Extremists " and this duty Mr. Tilak discharged with his usual candour. He did not " speak of murders with approval " nor did he " hail the advent of the bomb in India as if something had come to India for its good." He did not, like Mathew Arnold, refuse to call a man murderer who "for some great public cause, without love or hate, austerely raised his arm against a power exempt from common checks." On the contrary he considered it to be " the country's misfortune " that the bomb had come ; and he called upon the Government, with all the fervour at his command to uproot this ' poisonous tree ' by giving larger political rights to the people. He clearly saw through the attempts made to fasten the responsibility of such events upon the much-disliked agitator. But really speaking " the ultimate cause of terrism in Bengal must be sought in the utterly selfish, high-handed and tyrannical policy of the Government and in the contemptuous and insulting manner in which most official and non-official Anglo-Indians have spoken of and treated the Bengalees. They have

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ridden rough-shod over the feelings of the Bengalees and turned a deaf ear to their strongest and most reasonable representations, supported by facts and figures. The Russianization of the administration in spirit and methods has led to the conversion of a small section of the people to the methods of Russian terroism. It is simply a question of action and re-action, 'Stimulus' and 'response'."

Mr. Tilak had nothing but contempt for those who in their hurry to save their skin and position were ostentatiously profuse in their condemnation of the Terrorists. His views may be summed up in the following words of the talented editor of the *Modern Review*.* "It may be easy for arm-chair critics who are incapable of risking or sacrificing anything for humanity, to inveigh in unmeasurable terms against persons who have made terrible mistakes, but who nevertheless were prepared to lose all that men hold dear, for their race and country;—persons whose fall has been great, because perhaps, equally great was their capacity for rising to the heights of being; but for ourselves, we pause awe-struck in the presence of this mysterious tragedy of mingled crime and stern devotion. Deplore as we do the death of the two European women, and strongly condemn the murderous deed, we scorn to associate ourselves in our condolence and condemnation with those Anglo-Indian editors and others who have not even a word of regret to express, when brutal Anglo-Indians kill inoffensive and defenceless Indians or assault helpless Indian women. Whatever feelings we express, we must do independently and in measured terms."

* The *Modern Review* (June 1908).

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On May 22nd, the following statement was issued over the signatures of Mr. Tilak and 24 leading Nationalists of Maharashtra :—

" We view with deep regret the recent acts of violence on the part of certain young men in Bengal, resulting in lamentable deaths.

" We firmly believe that these regrettable occurances are the result of prolonged and persistent disregard of public opinion and a continued policy of repression on the part of the Government, and not as alleged in some quarters of any speeches or writings.

" We are convinced, that the true remedy for the present state of things, lies. not in the adoption of any measures of repression and coercion, which must prove futile, but in the prompt redress of popular grievances and in making liberal concessions to the legitimate demands and aspirations of the people in a spirit of large-minded sympathy and far-sighted statesmanship.

" We hold that such a policy of conciliation will be in harmony with the best traditions of British Rule in India."

But just as Mr. Tilak and others were convinced that the real cause of these fanatical outbursts lay in the unsympathetic rule of a Bureaucracy, irresponsible to the people of this country, so was the Bureaucracy convinced that it was the agitators whose pernicious writings and speeches had created such a tense situation. They, therefore, set themselves to stamp out the bomb by making penal the mere possession of chemicals required for preparing bombs, by a stringent Press Act and a vigorous hunting of ' sedition.' A Press Act was contemplated, but it saw the light of the day a couple

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of years later. Newspaper prosecutions commenced right earnestly. Early in June as many as four editors were arrested in the Bombay Presidency, on charges of sedition. When the smaller fry was thus being disposed of, Mr. Tilak could not be ignored, and when on June 20th, 1908, the (then) Governor of Bombay remarked that certain persons possessing influence over the people were exciting hatred and contempt against the Government and that they were playing with fire it was clearly understood that the remarks were specifically meant for Mr. Tilak, who, four days later, was arrested (June 24th, 1908.)

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CHAPTER XIII

THE COUNTRY'S MISFORTUNE

The Lion when struck to the heart gives out his mightest
roar;
When smitten on the head, the cobra lifts its hood;
And the majesty of the soul comes forth only when a man is
wounded unto his depths.

Swami Vivekananda.

THE arrest of Mr. Tilak, though it caused widespread grief and resentment did not surprise anybody. What however extremely surprised all was that such a mild and innocent article as that of May 12th, 1908 had been selected for prosecuting Mr. Tilak under Sections 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code. The Government of Bombay seem to have realised the risk of getting conviction on the article of May 12th and so, another sanction to prosecute Mr. Tilak for publishing the leading article in the *Kesari* of June 9th entitled "These remedies are not lasting" was given, a fresh warrant was issued and executed on Mr. Tilak in jail; and by two separate orders was Mr. Tilak committed to the Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court on June 29th, 1908.

Mr. Tilak's misfortunes did not end here. On July 2nd, an application for bail, made on his behalf by Mr. Jinnah before Mr. Justice Davar was rejected and this was the more curious, as eleven years back, Mr. Davar

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then a barrister, had strongly pleaded in favour of Mr. Tilak before the late Mr. Justice Tyabji on this very point. Mr. Davar the Barrister had argued that "the only ground on which this application could be opposed would be an apprehension that the accused might not be forthcoming for his trial." Mr. Davar, the Judge, however declared "I am not in accord with the statement, broadly made that the only consideration which ought to guide the Court in deciding whether bail should or should not be granted, was the consideration that the accused would appear to take his trial."

Mr. Tilak's next misfortune was the successful application of the Crown to the Court for directing that a Special Jury should be empanelled to try him. Mr. Baptista, appearing for Mr. Tilak conclusively proved how, if a Special Jury was empanelled it would consist of a majority of Europeans, who, besides being ignorant of Marathi would not be the best Judges of articles "exciting disaffection against the Government." Mr. Tilak was moreover charged with exciting the feelings of Indians against Europeans. The result would be, said Mr. Baptista, that on the charge under 124 A, the rulers would sit in judgment upon a subject for his alleged rebellious spirit and under Section 153 A, the accusers would sit in judgment upon the accused for exciting hostility against themselves. A Common Jury would, on the other hand, cons st of a majority of Non-Europeans. Mr. Baptista's prayer, however, was not granted and a Special Jury was ordered to be empanelled.

On Monday, July 13th, when the hearing of the cases commenced, the Advocate General proposed (Sec. 234

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C. P. Code) to put up the accused on both the charges at the same trial; and to avoid a technical difficulty of law, he proposed to put the accused up on two charges under Section 124 A and one charge under Section 153 A, staying for a time proceedings under 153 A with respect to the article of 12th May. This procedure was prejudicial to Mr. Tilak's interests but in spite of his protests, the joinder of charges was allowed. The result of this was, as the detailed reports of the proceedings clearly show, that practically "one single article of June 9th was made the ground of three convictions and sentences on three different charges."

The 'objectionable' passages on which the prosecution relied were not specified. Mr. Tilak drew the attention of the learned Judge to this difficulty. He was however told that the whole lot of the words was objected to and with His Lordship's permission, the charges were amended by putting in the whole articles into the charge. This was, of course very convenient to the Prosecution, but it increased Mr. Tilak's burden and compelled him to explain each and every sentence while conducting his defence.

The only prosecution witness seriously cross-examined by Mr. Tilak, who conducted his own defence, was the late Mr. B. V. Joshi, First Assistant to the Oriental Translator, Bombay. The cross-examination is a model of skill and resourcefulness. It reveals Mr. Tilak's command over the Marathi as also his proficiency in all the arts of an Advocate. Mr. Tilak completely succeeded in proving that the transaltions were perverted. Words likely to be unfavourable to him were grossly though unintentionally mistranslated; while expres-

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sions, which were favourable to him were made considerably milder.

When Mr. Tilak's house was searched, a post-card containing the names of two books "Hand-book on Modern Explosives" and "Nitro-explosives" was found. It was quite natural and proper for the editor of a newspaper to purchase books on explosives when the Government was contemplating legislation on the subject. "A book is not a bomb, much less the name of it." The Post-card, however, received undue prominence and it was put in, as one of the Exhibits by the Prosecution. To explain the Post-Card, Mr. Tilak had to put a bundle of sundry papers, by which he lost his right of reply. Finding that this right, so precious to an accused, especially in a trial by Jury, was thus taken away, Mr. Tilak put in 71 cutting from different papers, to show how his own articles formed part of a political controversy.

In his written Statement, Mr. Tilak accepted full responsibility for the incriminating articles, gave his own English renderings for some of the Marathi words occurring in the articles, quoted his views on Political Reform from his statement before the Decentralization Commission and concluded by saying that the Charge-Articles formed part of a controversy, in which he had endeavoured to maintain and defend those views. He also successfully explained the post-card. He commenced his speech on Wednesday, July 15th, at about 4 P.M. the speech occupied full 21 hours and 10 minutes. While it was being delivered, * "The Judge, Jury and

* From the *Modern Review.*

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the Prosecuting Counsel shrank into insignificance before the towering personality of Mr. Tilak." It was a nice discourse on the law of sedition both Indian and English; and though Mr. Tilak did not succeed in convincing the Judge and the majority of the Jurors, still "on his countrymen at large, the speech produced an elevating effect." After reading out Section 124 A, under which two charges were framed against him, Mr. Tilak said, "This Section is divided into two parts. The first part refers to actually bringing into hatred or contempt His Majesty etc. But as there is no evidence before the Court that any excitement has been caused by the articles in question, so it seems to me that the Prosecution does not mean to proceed under that part of the section. The second part of the Section deals with 'attempts to excite disaffection'. The Section does not simply refer to the publication of anything likely to create disaffection. 'An attempt is an intentional premeditated action, which if it fails in its objects, fails through circumstances independent of the person, who seeks its accomplishment.' Attempt is actually an offence, minus the final act of crime. The mere fact that a certain article is published will not make it an attempt. There must be a criminal mind, a culpable indifference to consequences. In the present case, there has been no evidence to prove that the attempt failed because, the Government interfered or because the people refused to listen. Attempt includes both motives and intention. To take a common illustration, I *intend* to go the Bori Bunder Station and my end in view is to go to Poona. In deciding intention, it is not safe to follow the maxim of the Civil Law 'every

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man must be presumed to *intend* the natural consequences of his acts.' My contention is supported by the case of Rex *vs.* Burus, Hyndman and *Ors which was tried by Justice Cave who in his charge to the Jury said :

'I am unable to agree entirely with the Attorney-General when he says that the real charge is that though these men did not incite or contemplate disorder yet as it was the natural consequence of the words they used, they are responsible for it. In order to make out the offence of speaking seditious words, there must be a criminal intent upon the part of the accused ; there must be words, spoken with a seditious intent ; and although it is a good working rule to say that a man must be taken to intend the natural consequences of his acts, yet if it is shown from other circumstances that he did not actually intend them, I do not see how you can ask a Jury to act upon what has become a legal fiction. * * * * . The maxim that a man intends the natural consequences of his acts is usually true, but it may be used as a way of saying that, because reckless indifference to probable consequences is morally as bad as an intention to produce these consequences, the two things ought to be called by the same name and this is at least an approach to legal fiction. It is one thing to write with a distinct intention to produce disturbance and another to write, violently and recklessly, matter likely to produce disturbances.'

Criminal intention cannot be presumed but must be positively proved by the evidence of surrounding circumstances. The motive of an act must not be con-

* Vol· 16, Cox's Criminal cases Page 365.

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founded with the intention; but is always one of the surest indications in an inquiry as to intention. If the writer's motives are good, if he is trying to secure constitutional rights for the people, trying in a fair way and persevering manner, he is entitled to express his views fully and fearlessly. Intention may be inferred from the legal fiction that a man intends the natural consequences of his acts. But if there are circumstances to show that the motive of a man is different, then the mere fact that the views of the writer are not correct, or are even absurd, or that he has expressed them in violent language, would not make him seditious. It is not a question of the correctness and acceptability of views, or of the style in which they have been expressed. The incriminating articles form part of a controversy between the Pro-Bureaucratic party and the Pro-Congress party. There was a bomb outrage at Mozufferpore. There was no difference of opinion as to the character of the deplorable event; but the question was 'what is the cause of it?' The Pro-Bureaucratic Party laid the blame at the doors of the Congress or of the Nationalist Party and called upon Government to put us down. I have taken the other side. My writings are (1) a reply to the Anglo-Indian criticism (2) a suggestion to Government and addressed to Government (3) a discussion of the situation (4) a warning to both parties which, it is my duty as a journalist to give (5) a criticism of the contemplated measures by the Government. I will read extracts from a few Anglo-Indian writings. The *Pioneer* of May 7th recommends a whole-sale arrest of the acknowledged Terrorists in a

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city or District, coupled with an intimation that on the repetition of the offence, ten of them would be shot for every life sacrificed. It tries to establish a logical connection between members of the Council and Bomb-throwers in Bengal. The *Asian* recommends to Mr. Kingsford's notice a Mauser pistol and hopes he would secure a big ' bag ', adding that he will be more than justified in letting day-light into every strange native approaching his house or person. A correspondent of the Englishman suggests that ' a few of these worthy agitators should be flogged in public by the town-sweepers.' Now, we honestly believed that these writings were mischievous, particularly the insinuations of those writers and they had to be counteracted. My reply to the Anglo-Indian Press is written on an occasion of provocation. It does not intend to excite dis-affection. For every sentence in my writings, I can point out a parallel passage from the literature of our party. Pro-Congress Newspapers, completely hostile to the *Kesari*, take the same view of the matter. I am charged specifically with attempting to cause excitement, not through-out India, but among the Marathi-speaking population. I do not stand alone in my views. Papers of all parties in the Marathi-speaking community have taken the same view of the matter. This absolves me from any evil intention. If there is no personal prejudice against me, these articles will show that I was not prompted by my personal prejudices. The arguments have not been invented by me. In charging me with sedition, this must be borne in mind ' what impressions will my writings produce on the Marathi speaking public ?' All they say is, ' well, the reply has been

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well given.' I have been writing nothing which I have not written for 28 years; and the view expressed in my article has been already expressed by some leaders of our party. Taking all these points into consideration, the construction put upon the words of the articles by the Prosecution is unjustifiable. Moreover, in my own interest, and in the interest of the cause I represent I am bound to question the translations, which are completely distorted. It is simply intolerable that conviction for sedition should be based upon such translations. If I succeeded in showing that the wording of these translations is not correct, that in itself is enough to ensure my acquittal. The words on which the Prosecution is likely to rely are found to be distorted images of the original words. Marathi terminology in the discussion of Political subjects not being settled, I have been required to labour under a very great disadvantage, especially as, frequently we have to write on the spur of the moment; and the translator has made an attempt to translate the Marathi language of 1908 with the aid of a dictionary published full fifty years ago, not realizing that old fortifications cannot stand before new guns. I gave Mr. Joshi this sentence to translate "A despotic Government need not necessarily be tyrannical," and the translator himself found it difficult to express the two shades of meaning in Marathi. The charge is based not upon the original Marathi but upon the translations. Therefore the Prosecution must stand or fall by the correctness or incorrectness of the translations. It is likely to be urged 'take away the Bureaucracy and what hope is left?' But I submit, the Bureaucracy is not the Government. The Bomb-

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outrages were quickly condemned in my papers, as the Anglo-Indian papers. But in condemning them, we say that we must also condemn the repressive measures of Government. Both parties are taking advantage of the presence of the bomb. The Bureaucratic Party are taking advantage of it to suppress political agitation, and the other party is taking advantage of it to claim some reforms. It is the same question which was fought out by Erskine in the case of the Dean of St. Asaph. I can trace a great struggle between the people on the one hand, and a mighty Bureaucracy on the other; and I ask you to help us, not me personally, but the whole of India. I am now on the wrong side of life and for me it can only be a matter of a few years, but future generations will look to your verdict and see whether you have judged right or not. If at least one of you would come forward and say that I was right, it will be a matter of satisfaction to me; for I know, that if the Jury are not unanimous in England, another trial takes place. It is not so here, but it would be a moral support upon which I would rely with great satisfaction. I appeal to you, not for myself, but in the interest of the cause which I have the honour to represent. It is the cause that is sacred and I doubt not, gentlemen, that He, before whom all of us will have to stand one day and render an account of our actions will inspire you with the courage of your convictions and help you in arriving at a right decision on the issue involved in this case."

It is impossible to adequately summarize the whole of Mr. Tilak's masterly address within the limits at our

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disposal. His disquisitions on Section 153A, and his running commentary on the incriminating articles must be completely dropped. What has been attempted above is a bare outline of some of the principle points which he pressed in his favour. He finished his address at about 12-30 P.M., on the eighth and last date of the trial (Wednesday, 22nd July 1908). The reply of the Advocate-General was severely satirical and extremely offensive. He himself seems to have been conscious that he had exceeded the bounds of decorum and in conclusion declared himself to be ready to stand by any rebuke, which His Lordship might offer to him. Some of the gems in his speech are worth recording :—

> "You have been told, that you are guardians of the Press. Fiddlesticks! You are guardians of the Penal Code and the Penal Code protects the Press."

> "He (Mr. Tilak) has been trying his best to throw all the dust he could collect, even in the monsoon weather, into your eyes on this point. It is not what he now says he meant, but what he meant when he wrote them (the articles) that matters......... He cannot be allowed to say now 'of course I wrote sedition and meant affection.'

> "Can you conceive anybody with the faintest knowledge of law putting forward such a suggestion seriously, that he was entitled to write these articles in self-defence? This is the right that Mr. Tilak put forward in his defence yesterday. I think the accused must have

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laughed, when he left the Court, after having put forward that defence, to think that it was received in silence instead of Homeric laughter."

"I had intended to avoid the language of passion. But having the misfortune to sit through these ravings from morning to morning etc."

Strong exception could have been taken to such "ravings" and Mr. Tilak was nothing, if not extremely jealous of his rights. But he disdained to criticise the satirical language which Mr. Branson used in his speech, which lasted for four hours. The Judge thought it desirable to finish the case that day —or rather that night; and so, perhaps the Advocate-General brought his remarks to a hurried close. The Summing-up of the Judge followed—in lamp light,— and it was an adverse charge to the Jury. The Jury retired for consideration at about 8 P.M., and returned at 9-20 P.M. During the dismal silence of more than one hour in the dim gas-light, every friendly heart quailed. The finger on the wall was but too clear; Mr. Tilak, however, was aiways peculiarly heroic in such moments and in a whisper gave expression to his feelings in the noble words of Lord Krishna "हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् ।" "If you are defeated, you rule heaven; if you win, the world is at your feet." At last, the suspense was over. The Jurors came out and announced the majority verdict of guilty on all charges. They were divided by 7 to 2; the Judge agreed with their verdict and before passing any sentence, asked the accused whether he wished to say anything before sentence

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was passed. Here was an opportunity for Mr. Tilak to withdraw his remarks or express regret for his conduct and attitude. But his spirit was unbending; his cause was sacred and invincible. "In a solemn and piercing tone" he uttered the following words which deserve to be written in letters of gold:—

> "All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher Powers that rule the destinies of things; and it may be the will of the Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my sufferings than by my remaining free."

Let us compare these words with those of the Judge, when he sentenced the accused to six years' Transportation (three years on each charge of sedition) to which a fine of Rs. 1,000 (on the third charge) was added:— "It is my painful duty to pass sentence upon you. I cannot tell you how painful it is to me to see you in this position. You are a man of undoubted talents and great power and influence. Those talents and that influence, if used for the good of your country, would have been instrumental in bringing about a great deal of happiness for those very people whose cause you espouse. Ten years ago you were convicted and the Court dealt most leniently with you and the Crown dealt still more kindly with you. * * * It seems to me that it must be a diseased mind, a most perverted intellect, that could say that the articles, which you have written are legitimate weapons in political agitation. They are seething with sedition, they preach violence; they speak of

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murders with approval; and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs not only seems to meet with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb in India as if something has come to India for its good. As I said it can be only a diseased and perverted mind that can think that bombs are legitimate instruments in political agitations. And it must be a diseased mind that could ever have thought that the articles you wrote were articles that could have been legitimately written. Your hatred of the Ruling Class has not disappeared during these ten years. And in these articles, deliberately and defiantly written week by week, not as you say, on the spur of the moment, but a fortnight after that cruel and cowardly outrage had been committed upon two innocent English women, you wrote about bombs as if they were legitimate instruments in political agitations. Such journalism is a curse to the country. I feel much sorrow in sentencing you. I have considered most anxiously in the case of a verdict being returned against you, what sentence I should pass upon you. * * * Having regard to your age and circumstances, I think it is most desirable, in the interest of peace and order and in the interest of the country which you profess to love, that you should be out of it for some time."

When on the morrow, July 23rd, Mr. Tilak's 53rd birthday, the news of his conviction spread like wild fire, most impressive demonstrations were witnessed. The *bazars* were spontaneously closed; schools and colleges were deserted. The Mill-hands of Bombay struck work for six days in honour of Mr. Tilak.

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Condolence meetings were held all over the country. Many of the Moderate leaders were ungenerous not to take part therein. A notable instance is that of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, (then in England), too, stood aloof from a condolence meeting in London. He was requested to preside on the occassion, but he refused to take any part in the meeting; nor did he organize a meeting of his own, for the same purpose. This attitude of Mr. Gokhale created an impression that he and his associates were pledged to support a policy of repression.

In noticing Mr. Tilak's conviction, the London *Times* said :—

" The real importance of Mr. Tilak's conviction lies in the fact that he is the acknowledged and undisputed leader of the Extremists' Movement in India. That he had a guilty knowledge of the darker developments of that movement is not, of course, suggested. Mr. Tilak remained, at the moment of his conviction, the most conspicuous politician in India and among large sections of the people, he has enjoyed a popularity and wielded an influence that no other public man in the Dependency could claim to equal. The Extremists' Movement, in its open manifestations both within and outside the Congress was almost entirely his conception."

The Indian Press was almost unanimously of opinion that Mr. Tilak did not get justice. But the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court as also the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, thought that he had ;—and there we must leave the question.

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As soon as the sentence was pronounced and the Judge had left the Court, Mr. Tilak was taken charge of by the Police and was sent to Sabarmati gaol to celebrate his 53rd birth-day (23rd July 1908). He was treated just like a common convict; and it was only when ten days of jail diet brought down his weight by 10 lbs. that apprehension was felt concerning his health, and a gentleman's diet was given to him.

From Sabarmati, he was removed (Sept. 13th, 1908) to Mandalay. His sentence was commuted to one of simple imprisonment. This "act of grace" acted prejudicially to Mr. Tilak's interests. Had the original sentence been executed, he would have got greater remission. Besides, in the Andamans he would have been able to live in perfect freedom after furnishing the usual security. While, at Mandalay, he had to confine himself, for six long years, to a room measuring 20×12. He represented these facts to the authorities, but to no purpose.

When Mr. Tilak was sentenced to transportation for six years, there were few, even among his opponents who expected him to survive the term of his exile. Two things however, besides his own fortitude and Faith in God, enabled him to outlive the dread monotony and killing solitude of his life. They were (1) health and (2) mental occupation. But these, in their turn depended upon things quite beyond his control. The Government, however, was pleased to deal with him leniently, He was allowed to have his own food cooked by a Brahmin convict specially kept at his disposal; and when diabetes raised its head, he could

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change it and have the special diet which he had after careful research, found suitable for diabetic patients.

As regards mental occupation. though all books or periodicals bearing on current Politics were rigourously excluded, Mr. Tilak could yet command the free use of other books and of writing materials. "Though confined in a room of 20×12 he could, if he liked, go out hunting with the primeval Aryan warriors in the Rigveda; enjoy the super glory of the Aurora with the Pole-Star at zenith overhead; busy himself with the ritual mysteries of the Vedic sacrificers gathered around their sacred *Vedis*; revel in the prospective clash of arms, when the numberless armies of the Pandavas and the Kauravas met on the bloodthirsty Kurukshetra; listen to the Song Celestial as it was delivered in divine accents by Krishna to Arjuna; or take a tour round the world in company with the authors of the Historians' History of the World." When so much 'latitude' was given to him, surely Mr. Tilak had no "right to complain!"

Even the longest night has an end; and Mr. Tilak who received neither the benefit of the Delhi Durbar (1911) nor that of the usual remission was at long last secretly brought from Mandalay and liberated in front of his residence at midnight on June 16th, 1914!

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CHAPTER XIV

RIP VAN WINKLE !

Yes, thou great sea !
I am more mighty and out-billow thee.
On thy tops I rise—
'Tis an excuse to dally with the skies.
I sink below
The bottom of the clamourous world to know.
*   *   *   *
I come, oh free
Ocean, to measure my huge soul with thee.

Arabindo Ghose

MR. TILAK'S transportation to Mandalay was followed by a long period of political re-action. Boycott, political or economic, ceased to count as a factor in practical politics. Only Lord Minto's "Honest Swadeshi" lived. National schools and colleges were deserted. The *Samitis* were suppressed. Arbitration courts collapsed. Wholesale repression drove the movement underground, bringing Terrorism in its train. The Terrorist was vigorously hunted. Popular leaders found their way either to goal or to self-imposed exile. The National Congress with its ever-dwindling enthusiasm and attendance, met only to register the growing depression of the Moderate leaders. The "Reformed" Councils had disillusioned the people. Even Mr. Gokhale's optimism was shattered. The Octopean

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Press Act strangled all freedom of writing. National literature was mostly proscribed, especially all that described Mr. Tilak's personality or preached his principles. Evidently this was an attempt to make the people to forget him. *" A hush had fallen over the country. No man seemed to know which way to move and from all sides came the question 'What shall we do next? What is there that we can do?' "

On his return to Poona, Mr. Tilak could read this question on every face. The great Nationalist Party so laboriously organised by him was thoroughly routed. People asked themselves the question, " Would Mr. Tilak take his rightful place as the leader of the Nationalists or would he, like so many others, bow to the inevitable and spend the evening of his life in philosophy and meditation "? The future of India depended on what answer Mr. Tilak would give to this question. At a welcome meeting held at Poona on Sunday 21st June 1914, he said :—

' When after six years' absence, I return home and begin to renew my acquaintance with the world, I find myself in the position of Rip Van Winkle. I was kept by the authorities in such a rigorous seclusion that it seemed that they desired that I should forget the world and be forgotten by it. However I have not forgotten the people, and I am glad to notice that the people have not forgotten me. I can only assure the public that separation for six long years could not diminish my love for them and that I am willing and ready to serve in the *same manner* and in the *same relation* and in the *same capa-*

* Uttarapara speech of Srj. Arabindo Ghose (1909).

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vity which belonged to me six years before, though it may be, I shall have to modify the course a little."

This declaration gave a quietus to the rumour that Mr. Tilak "intended to devote the evening of his life to meditation" and scholarshp. There were some well-meaning advisers who even urged Mr. Tilak to retire from Politics and achieve "immortal renown" by writing books like the *Gita Rahasya.* But Mr. Tilak knew the mission of his life better. "Literature and philosophy" he pointed out "are merely my recreation ; my life-work lies quite in a different direction."

In the leaden sky of Indian politics, Mr. Tilak saw a few gleams of hope. The total failure of the Morley-Minto Reforms, the consequent disappointment of the Moderate party, the awakening of the great Moslem community and the entry of Mrs. Besant in Indian Politics, inspired him with great confidence. His immediate political programme was threefold: (1) The Congress-Compromise, (2) The reorganisation of the Nationalist party (3) The setting on foot of a strong agitation for Home Rule. His leisure was devoted to the completion and publication (1915) of the *Gita-Rahasya* and the consideration of the steps to be taken against Sir Valentine Chirol for defamation.

Seeing that he had no inclination for a life of learned retirement, the Bureaucracy tried their hands at an 'official boycott' of Mr. Tilak, and a couple of police-stations were created in the neighbourhood of his residence to keep 'a close and rigorous surveillance' on him. Visitors to his house were 'boldly

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and openly accosted ' and were required to give their names. If Government servants or persons in any way connected with the Government called upon him, they received warnings subsequently. It was a bare-faced piece of ' political Vendetta ' which had to be abandoned owing to the outbreak of the great European war in August 1914.

A man who had been in goal for over seven years of his life and who had been persecuted in a variety of other ways, has every reason to be embittered. But Mr. Tilak—who combined in himself the qualities of the soldier and the philosopher—took these troubles quite lightly, almost as a matter of course. He was nothing if not chivalrous and high-minded ; so when the British Government commenced its mortal fight with Germany he made (27th August 1914) his " declaration of loyalty "—a declaration which extorted admiration even from hostile quarters. He repudiated the nasty and totally unfounded charges against him, declared that he had never either directly or indirectly incited people to deeds of violence, denied that he had ever worked " with the object of subverting the British rule in India " and concluded by saying that " at such a crisis it is the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, to support and assist his Majesty's Government to the best of his ability."

One effect of this declaration was to clear up many of the cruel misunderstandings that hung like an ominous cloud upon his personality and career. Even the (nominal) *Advocate of India* recognized in Mr. Tilak " one of our loyalest and truest friends " and called

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upon his detractors to "admit their mistake and make at the earliest possible moment 'the *amende honorable.*'" No wonder that Mrs. Beasant thought this to be a most opportune moment for bringing together the much-abused Moderates and the much-persecuted Extremists. If Sir Edward Carson could suspend his opposition to the Liberal Ministry and shake hands with Mr. Asquith, could not Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak "forget, forgive and unite" in the larger interests of of the country?

The negotiations for the Congress Compromise resulted in a temporary failure and form one of the saddest chapters in the history of Maharashtra. As fates would have it, the two great Servants of India—Tilak and Gokhale—were pitted against each other in a bitter controversy, the younger had denounced the elder patriot, and, before the curtain fell on the controversy, was himself no more (19th February 1915); Gokhale, who began life as a reverent follower of Tilak "stabbed him in the dark" and then vanished into eternity! Oh, the irony of human life!

There was a humorous side, too, to this great tragedy! Gokhale, on the point of death and Sir Pherozeshah not far removed from it, afraid to take Mr. Tilak in the Congress, because, once in, he would capture it!! "Boycott of the Government" considered to be the unpardonable sin of Mr. Tilak!! The introduction of a Home Rule Bill in Parliament, through Mr. Tilak's influence with the Labour leaders and the concentration of all the agitation on that one point regarded as the approach of deluge!! And all this, only six years before the Congress of 1920!!!

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In the circumstances of the case, Mr. Tilak's party was naturally anxious to re-enter the Congress-fold, not only on grounds of national unity but also for the more narrow reasons of party interests. The great Nationalist Party, organised by him in the eventful years of the Swadeshi agitation was, by Government repression weakened, silenced, disorganised, discredited and practically routed. As the Congress would be a great rallying point, Mr. Tilak's sincerity in conducting the negotiations was transparent. Not so, that of the Moderates, to whom the association with their Extremist brethren was a matter which caused uneasiness and occasional inconvenience. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was dead against the admission of Mr. Tilak with his 'firebrands' into the Congress camp and others like Gokhale had not the courage to go against their chief. That is why the negotiations fell through.

The Constitution and rules of the Congress were passed (1908) by a Committee appointed by the Convention (Dec. 1907) from which many Nationalists, willing to join it in spite of the evident humiliations, were deliberately and brusquely excluded. For the sake of unity, Mr. Tilak was willing to join a Congress whose creed (Article No. I) was not quite inspiring, whose constitution was faulty and whose rules were unreasonable and arbitrary. But there must be some honourable way of returning to the Congress. If Mr. Tilak wanted to go back to the Congress it must be only as a delegate elected by some political body recognised by or affiliated to the Congress.

" The old practice of electing delegates at any public meeting was set aside and the election of Congress dele-

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gates was completely and exclusively in the hands" of the Moderate Associations. "It was unreasonable to expect that one party should seek admission to the Congress through the associations entirely controlled and managed by the other." The only course, therefore, that could bring the Nationalists in the National Congress was so to amend Article XX of the Congress Constitution as to enable them to elect their delegates at public meetings or meetings of Nationalist Associations. Everything depended on the Moderate leaders' willingness to alter Article XX of the Congress Constitution in the desired manner.

The rest of the story is soon told.* "Mrs. Besant accompanied by Mr. Subba Rao, the General Secretary of the Madras Congress (1914) went to Poona in the first week of December (1914) and conferred with Messrs. Tilak, Gokhale and other leading publicists of Poona. The suggested amendment of Article XX of the Congress Constitution was agreed upon. Then Mr. Subba Rao went over to Bombay to consult Sir Pherozeshah; he returned disappointed. Then he met Mr. Tilak, had a long talk with him, which frightened him as well as Mr. Gokhale to whom it was subsequently reported. Mr. Gokhale was convinced, that Mr. Tilak's re-entry into the Congress Camp would only be a signal for a renewal of the old struggle. He, therefore, withdrew his support from the proposed amendment, sent an oral message to Mrs. Besant accordingly and in reply to a letter from the President-elect, wrote to him a confidential letter explaining the reasons of his change of view. That letter or its revised copy 'became public

* From the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (12th January 1915).

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property in no time.' It was stated in this communication that Mr. Tilak had openly avowed his intention of adopting the 'boycott of Government' and obstructionist methods of the Irish, if he entered the Congress. The matter was prominently brought to the notice of the Subjects' Committee and naturally, the ears of many of its members were poisoned against the Mahratta patriot behind his back. In the meantime, Mrs. Besant wired to Mr. Tilak to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the allegation, and not only did he give a direct lie to it, but said that many of his colleagues and followers were actually serving either in the Legislative Council or in Municipalities and District Boards! Mr. Tilak's telegram, however, came too late to mend matters. An apology was, no doubt, offered to him and charges against him withdrawn but his enemies triumphed in the end by getting the question of reconcilation postponed and a Committee appointed to consider it."

It is clear that Mr. Gokhale's confidential* letters to the President-elect of the Congress spoiled the prospect of *rapproachment* between the two parties. Mr. Gokhale justified his conduct by asserting that his change of opinion with regard to the Compromise question was necessitated by Mr. Tilak's conversation reported to him by Mr. Subba Rao. It was in part as follows :—

"In Mr. Tilak's opinion the present programme of

* Mr. H. P. Mody, in his recently published Life of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has tried to lift the veil from this episode just a little by giving two extracts from Mr.Gokhale's letters. Evidently these extracts do not exhaust the whole of Mr. Gokhale's case against Mr. Tilak. The venomous parts of the indictment are apparently still held back.

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the Congress was of no value. They were asking for small reforms while Mr. Tilak asked his countrymen to have nothing to do with these. He would make only one demand, *viz*, that for self-Government within the Empire. The Irish, by resorting to methods of obstruction, have in the course of 30 years, got Home Rule. They must also similarly adopt methods of obstruction within the limits of the law, and then only would they be able to compel the Government to concede their demands."

All this came upon Mr. Gokhale as bolt from the blue. Equally startling to him was the statement of Mr. Tilak's conversation with Mr. Subba Rao. The statement commences thus :—

"The attitude of the Nationalists is generally one of Constitutional Opposition to the Government; while that of the Moderates is that of Co-operation with the Government. Though the ideal of both is the same; the difference between them lies in the methods adopted by them for reaching the goal."

We leave it to the readers of to-day, to judge whether Mr. Gokhale's change of front could be justified by Mr. Tilak's remarks quoted above. It is interesting to note that this conversation, which so much disappointed Mr. Gokhale occurred on December 8th 1914, *after* Mr. Subba Rao to whom was assigned the difficult task of winning over the Bombay City Moderates, had returned quite disappointed from Bombay. Mr. Subba Rao has published in the New India (8th Feb. 1915) a statement in which he said that the Bombay Conventionist leaders were dead opposed to the amendment proposed by Mrs. Besant and that "great apprehension

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was felt that the Congress would be running a great risk if Mr. Tilak and his followers came in." This then was the real cause of the failure of the compromise negotiations. For it was not to be expected that Mr. Gokhale would now continue to support the proposed amendment of the Constitution, though it was originally drafted by him.

The Report of the Committee appointed at Madras to consider the question of the Congress-Compromise was discussed at the next session of the Congress at Bombay and a partially satisfactory solution was arrived at. "Public meetings convened under the auspices of any association, which is not of less than two years standing on 31st December 1915 and which has for one of its objects, the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by Constitutional means" were allowed and as Mr. Tilak's party could now send delegates to the Congress without looking up to the Moderates for patronage and support he decided to accept whole-heartedly the grudging and halting concession. It was high time. A new generation of Nationalists, willing and eager to sink all differences, had arisen. The great European War had altered the whole outlook of the Nation. A demand for a substantial instalment of Self-government was to be formulated. It had to be backed up by the strength of United India. Under these circumstances Mr. Tilak was not the man to emphasize his differences with his erring and timid fellow-countrymen. As early as January 1916, he publicly announced the willingness of his party to forget the past and re-enter the Congress through the partially opened door.

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CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT HOME-RULER

Sons of India ! Let your sadness
Turn to gladness ;
For the long night of your sorrow
Now has passed ; a glorious morrow
Dawns upon you. Day is shining
Cease repining.

C. F. Andrews.

IN the darkest hour of Mr. Tilak's life, when neither friend nor foe expected him to survive six long years of transportation, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale could not forget his old grievances against him. But Mr. Tilak was nothing if not chivalrous, and on hearing the unexpected news of Mr. Gokhale's death, (19th February 1915) he motored down to Poona from Sinhgad to do honour to the great Moderate. The funeral oration delivered by him on this occassion is intensely passionate. Mr. Tilak said :—

" This is not a time for cheers. This is a time for shedding tears. This diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers is laid to eternal rest on the funeral ground. Look at him and try to emulate him. * * * Every one of you should place his life as model to be imitated, and should try to fill up the gap caused by his death ; and if you will do your level best to emulate him in this way, he will feel glad even in the next world."

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In the Provincial Conference (May 1915) in moving the resolution of condolence to Mr. Gokhale's family Mr. Tilak described how he was partially responsible for introducingMr. Gokhale into the field of public life. This chivalry towards his political opponents has been markedly displayed by him on several occassions and it reflects great credit on Mr. Tilak, whose heart, stern and unbending though it was in political warfare, always responded to every note of affliction. In November 1915 died Sir P. M. Mehta mourned by Mr. Tilak and the country at large.

Towards the British Empire, in its hour of danger, he was equally chivalrous. We have already seen how, immediately on the outbreak of the great War (1914), Mr. Tilak publicly declared his willingness to co-operate with the Government. He suggested the raising of a citizen army. But, though even the most Moderate leaders enthusiastically favoured the idea, the Bureaucrats rejected the spontaneous offer of help from educated India. Of course, we were all patted on the back for the "fine Imperialistic instinct," but in this life-and-death struggle with Germany, instead of availing themselves of help from whatever quarter it came, the powers that be confined the work of raising recruits only to those classes who were devoid of all patriotic consciousness. Had the attention of Mr. Asquith's Government been drawn to India's eagerness to fight for the Empire, America's help would have been superflous and conscription in England would nor have been necesssary. It was only when Mr. Lloyd George became Premier (December 1916) that the Cabinet called upon the Viceroy to make special efforts to raise recruits in India.

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The Premier even went out of his way and suggested that an attempt must be made to catch the imagination of Indians and to stimulate their enthusiasm. But Lord Chelmsford himself lacked that precious quality of imagination and his associates wanted rather to damp than rouse the enthusiasm of the people. Had a Round-table Conference of India's trusted leaders been convened and the necessity of supplying strong contingents been explained to them, a few lakhs of young Indians would have at once joined the colours. It is, indeed, pitiable to find that the officials did not display even a fraction of that enthusiasm in raising citizen soldiers which they did in collecting the war-loan. A Defence India Force of 6,000 was advertised for ; 6,000 in thirty crores of people ! ! The necessary Bill was passed. No assurance was given with regard to Home Rule, no assurance with regard to commissioned ranks to the Volunteers ! Still the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. Mr. Tilak led the agitation at Poona and Bombay by powerful speeches, calling upon the youth, as they valued their country's freedom to suspend studies for a year or two and vindicate the fair name of their country. " If age and grey hair are no disqualifications, I am prepared to stand in the fighting line." said he ! But it was to no purpose. Eight hundred men at Bombay volunteered themselves on the spot. It seemed as if the Bureaucrats did not want the help. They signalized their appeal for the " Defence of India Force " by a resort to the notorious " Defence of India Act."! ! A few hours before Mr. Tilak's powerful appeal to the young men, he was served with an order from the Punjab Government prohibiting him from entering the

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Punjab! Surely, this was "Co-operation" with a vengeance! The satrap of the Punjab led the way! The Delhi Commissioner followed suit; and wonder of wonders, Mr. Tilak had not even dreamt of going over to the Punjab or to Delhi. When the Premier wanted an appeal which would fire the imagination of the Indians, here was an appeal of a very different sort. But this was only the beginning. The Press Deputation that waited on the Viceroy returned cruelly disappointed. The Press Act must still disfigure the Statute Book. Instead of promising substantial concessions to the people, the Government deprecated in strong langauge political agitation. Coercion was threatened. The threat was soon carried out and Mrs. Besant, the tall Poplar of Indian Politics was interned. These were some of the measures intended to persuade the Indians to become soldiers of the Empire! It is no wonder that the movement of a citizen army, thus ushered into existence soon collapsed.

But Mr. Tilak did not like that matters should rest here. He wanted to carry the case right up to the British Democracy and explain to it the state of things in India. He knew that if he could only convince the British public that the military resources of India were abundant and could well be availed of for the speedy termination of the War, not only would India get the military training denied to her these hundred years and more, but the solution of the Politicial problem also would be prompt and liberal. He tried his best to induce the Congress to send a Deputation to England. When, at last that hope was gone, he led the Home Rule League Deputation. As fates would have it, the

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War Cabinet refused to allow the Deputation to sail at the last moment. In vain did Mr. Tilak appeal. Evidently the reactionary element in the Cabinet was powerful and Mr. Tilak had to rest content with a cable to the Premier suggesting that India could supply five to ten millions of men, if our youths were made to feel that they were not fighting to establish a principle abroad which was not applied to them in own motherland.

At the Delhi War Conference (April 1918) Mr. Tilak was not even invited; at the Bombay War Conference (June 1918), though invited and asked to speak he was not allowed to continue, but had to stop after speaking only for a couple of minutes. Mr. Tilak wanted to show how recruiting could be made popular; but as the Government had their own ideas in the matter, the Home Rulers were invited to the Conference only to hear an ill-advised homily delivered to them by His Excellency the Governor (Lord Willingdon).

It will be thus seen that Mr. Tilak strenuously attempted to help the Government in their hour of need and trial; but his well-meant efforts met only with failure and even rebuffs. But the irony of it all was that though Mr. Tilak had made attempts, which the blundering Bureaucracy frustrated, to encourager recruiting he was (August 1918) served with an order prohibiting him from lecturing without the previous permission of the District Magistrate; and what was the reason? Mr. Tilak, presiding at the annual Shivaji Festival (22nd June 1918) spoke in a way "calculated to discourage recruiting." Only a week before, Mr. Tilak had

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publicly undertaken to enlist 5,000 recruits within six months on receiving an assurance that the highest military career without distinction of caste, creed or colour would be thrown open to the recruits ; and as guarantee of good faith, he had sent to Mahatma Gandhi a Deposit Receipt for Rs.50,000 the amount to be forfeited as penalty if certain conditions were not fulfilled. Comment is superflous on these two pictures—Mr. Tilak pledging his word and money in support of recruiting and the Government of Bombay accusing him of " discouraging recruiting."

Though Mr. Tilak was prepared to help the Government in every way to wage the war with success, he was not willing to shelve the all-important question of Home Rule. To those of the Bureaucrats who wanted Indians not to press contentious questions upon their attention, Mr. Tilak explained that Liberty is and ought to be always a non-contentious topic. It was absolutely impossible, he said, for India to watch with folded arms the stupendous conflict in Europe between Autocracy and Democracy. A vast intellectual revolution had been brought about in India as a result of the World-war. The moral, intellectual and political outlook of even the most ignorant villagers had widened. Even they had begun to take interest in the politics of their own country and that of the world at large. The declarations of responsible ministers, interpreting this world-war as a war of Liberty had considerably helped the national awakening ; and under these circumstances, it was impossible for Indians to keep quiet. Lord Willingdon had led the way by asking Mr. Gokhale to make a statement of post-war reforms. It was, therefore, in the interests

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of India and England alike, that this long-delayed settlement should be made.

During 1915 and 1916, Mr. Tilak worked assiduously to organize his party. A strong party needs (1) a magnetic leadership (2) a rallying point, and, (3) a war-cry. In the personality of Mr. Tilak that first essential was found. The National Congress would have been an ideal rallying point. But it was still in its inglorious and suicidal isolation. The attempted compromise had failed (1914). Mr. Tilak, therefore, decided to hold a Session of the Provincial Conference, the machinery of which was still in the hands of the Nationalist Party. Under the able presidentship of Mr. Joseph Baptista, the Nationalists, more than 1,000 in number met at Poona; and this exceptionally large number of delegates, together with the enthusiasm which marked the proceedings conclusively proved that the party was still powerful and had a bright future before it. This confidence was increased by the Moderate Conference, which was held a couple of months later and which, totally lacking in good attendence and enthusiasm, could seek consolation only in the fact that Lord Willingdon had kindly paid it a visit. The Belgaum Provincial Conference (1916), as successful as the Poona one, strengthened the Nationalist in the belief that the future was in their hands. The success of the Poona and Belgaum Conferences nerved the Nationalists to join the Congress even though the concessions to their sentiments and self-respect were tardy and halting.

It was this Poona Conference which gave the Nationalists, the necessary war-cry—Home Rule. When the Moderates were busy only with the preparations of

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schemes of political reform, Mr. Tilak gave his countrymen something more inspiring. Ever since his return from prison he had fixed his heart on a tremendous agitation in favour of Home Rule; knowing that the Bureaucracy would question the legality of the movement with the object of resorting to repression, he intended to introduce a Bill in Parliament through the good offices of Labour leaders and then concentrate all his activities on a vast propaganda. The sudden advent of the war came to his rescue. The Bureaucracy with their armoury full of repressive legislation had to keep quiet and bide their time. With the Indian army sent away to France, repression was out of the question; and so the Nationalists got the necessary respite to mobilize their forces and they were not slow to take full advantage of this opportunity.

During these days Mr. Tilak's dealings with the two other parties were unexceptionable. Conscious of the growing virility of the Nationalists, he could afford, especially in the larger interests of the country to be generous in his dealings with the Moderates. Mrs. Besant too, in spite of occasional lapses was on the path of complete alliance with him. She felt that she was regarded as an interloper by the leading Moderates and was feared and distrusted by them. Mr. Tilak's vision was so much possessed with the future and its immense possibilities that he was in no mood to keep open the old sores. He tried to placate the Moderates and did his best to induce them to co-operate with him. The resolutions of the Poona and Belgaum Conferences were drawn up with a skill that silenced the ultra-Moderates; and for the sake of unity, Mr. Tilak defered his

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full programme of activities in connection with Home-Rule.

A notable instance of Mr. Tilak's desire for unity can be seen in his hearty acceptance of the " Reform Memorandum " of the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council (October 1916). Left to himself, Mr. Tilak would have made more radical demands and we know some of his Bengal followers did actually make them. But Mr. Tilak wanted complete unanimity ; and so he was willing to take his stand on the memorandum with its subsequent development, *viz* —The Congress-League-Scheme.

The inauguration of the Indian Home Rule League (23rd April 1916) was also a step in the same direction. Mr. Tilak clearly realised that the Congress with the small survivors of the Old Guard would not go in for the radical propaganda he wished to concentrate upon. If the co-operation of the leading Moderates was desired, the pace of our activities must be slowed down ; and this he was unwilling to do. He therefore started the Indian Home Rule League where he and his enthusiastic followers would have a free hand. As a concession to the misgivings of the timid Moderates the Home Rule League accepted the creed of the National Congress, a thing which gratified the (Right) Hon. Mr. Shrinivasa Shastri. But the Government was not so gratified. They wanted to crush the Home Rule Propaganda by striking at the towering personality to whose organising genius the League owed its birth.

This year (1916), the sixty-first anniversary of Mr. Tilak's birth was celebrated in Maharashtra. It was certainly a proud and glorious day. The harassments

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and persecutions that had fallen to Mr. Tilak's share were simply innumerable. Only he could have emerged unscathed out of such a terrific ordeal. More, he turned seeming defeats to account and successfully enhanced his prestige and honour from out of every reverse. Since 1890, he had been steadily gaining in power and popularity, while latterly the tide of his influence had become irresitible. No wonder, that, not only those who were associated with him in politics but many others took part in the celebration. A large meeting attended by over 8,000 persons was held (23rd July). Friends and admirers from different parts of Maharashtra read addresses and delivered congratulatory speeches. A dress of honour, several individual presents and a huge sum of one lakh of Rupees—testified to the feelings of his admirers. Sitting heavily garlanded in the midst of jubilant friends and well-wishers, Mr. Tilak thought of the past; "Memories of storm and suffering" said he "rather than those of comparative happiness rise before my mind's eye." He was also saddened to find that those with whom he started his career in the early eightees—Chiplunkar, Dharap, Apte, Kelkar, Agarkar, Namjoshi, Gokhale—had "shuffled off their coil" one after the other. He alone remained to represent them. "Looking into the future" said he "after completing sixty years, one's mind cannot but be filled with misgivings; and with declining strength one is apt to feel less hopeful. But I devoutly hope that with your support, I may be granted life and strength to add to whatever work of public good I may have done."

When, under somewhat similar circumstances, Parnell was presented with an enormously big cheque, he

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quietly pocketed it and did not so much as thank his friends for their generosity. He took the present as a matter of course. Mr. Tilak was made of a far finer stuff. With simple modesty and characteristic generosity, he said :—

"I do not know what I can do with the money. I do not want it for my own sake nor would it be proper for me to accept it for personal use. I can only accept it in trust to spend it in a constitutional way for National work after adding my own quota to it."

If the people brought their birth-day present to Mr. Tilak, the Government, too, contributed their mite. They, too, sent a birth-day present to Mr. Tilak in the form of a notice calling upon him to show cause why he should not be bound over for good behaviour for a period of one year in a sum of Rupees 20,000 in his own recognizance and in two securities of Rs. 10,000 each. This is a striking illustration of how "Mr. Tilak's public life has been like a double-faced Janus—one face of it expressing the enjoyment and the delight of public appreciation and the other, inseparable from the first, expressing the toil of determined resistance to official persecution."

The Government wanted to silence Mr. Tilak, not to imprison him; perhaps, the war came in the way. They, therefore, picked up three of his speeches—the one delivered (1st May 1916) at Belgaum and the other two at Ahmadnagar (31st May and 1st June 1916). These speeches were models of sobriety and moderation. "Almost every alternate sentence proclaimed the speaker's loyalty to the British connection." Failing to find stronger exhibitions of Mr.

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Tilak's disloyalty, the Government fixed on these Home Rule speeches to launch their offensive against him. Through their counsel, they took care to inform the court and the world at large, that they took exception to Mr. Tilak's lectures on Home Rule and not to Home Rule itself. Mr. Binning in opening the case on 7th May 1916 before the District Magistrate, Poona, did not hesitate to call Mr. Tilak's declarations of loyalty as a mere cloak to defend himself from the clutches of law. He (Mr. Binning) questioned Mr. Tilak's *bona fides*, laid stress on isolated passages and pressed for conviction. Mr. G. W. Hatch, District Magistrate placed reliance on Mr. Justice Strachey's interpretation (misinterpretation, we must now say) of the word disaffection which was regarded as meaning "absence of affection." "Looking at these speeches, as a whole, fairly, freely and without giving undue weight to isolated passages" the only impression produced on the mind of the Magistrate was that "Mr. Tilak wanted to disaffect his audience towards the Government" and knowing that he could not interest his audience in his arguments unless he illustrated them forcibly told them "that they were slaves, that their grievances remained undressed and that the Government only considers its interests, which are alien to those of the Indians, and intends to keep the people in slavery under the excuse that Indians are not fit to rule themselves." The Magistrate, therefore, under Section 108 of C. P. Code, directed Mr. Tilak to enter into a bond in a sum of Rs. 20,000, with two sureties each in the sum of Rs. 10,000 to be of good behaviour for a period of one year.

The decision was, however, reversed (9th November

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1916) as it deserved to be, by Mr. Justice Batchelor and Justice (Sir) Lallubhai Shah in their separate but concurring judgments. (The Hon.) Mr. Jinnah ably defended Mr. Tilak both in the lower and the revisional court. But though Mr. Tilak triumphed, still his main points were not satisfactorily solved. The main feature of his speeches as the *Times of India* then remarked was a distinction between the King and the King's Government. This sage paper shrewdly remarked that if Mr. Tilak wanted, by this subtle distinction to evade a law, with the meaning of which he ought to have been familiar, then "he is far less astute than we thought him to be." This is not however a question of the evasion of the law or of that astuteness of the offender. Nor can it be set at rest by the opinions of the two learned Judges, Mr. Justice Batchelor and Mr. Justice Shah. Mr. Tilak openly and sincerely professes his loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor and the British Parliament which really are "the Government by law established in India." He claims full freedom to criticize the administration of the country. But Mr. Justice Batchelor holds that Government could act only through human agency; and as the Civil Service is admittedly the principal agency, where it is criticised *en blcc*, in an intemperate language, hatred of the Civil Service and consequently hatred or contempt of the Government is likely to be the result. According to this decision, it is purely a question of fact dependent on the language used and not on the distinction on which Mr. Tilak and his counsel relied. Regarding Mr. Tilak's speeches, Mr. Justice Batchelor writes as follows :—

"Probably the fairest way to ascertain the effect is

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to read the three speeches from beginning to end, quietly and attentively, remembering the arguments and remembering the politically ignorant audience to whom Mr. Tilak was addressing. I have so read these speeches, not once, but several times, and the impression left on the mind is that, on the whole, despite certain passages which are rightly objected to by the prosecution, the general effect would not probably and naturally be to cause disaffection, that is hostility or enmity or contempt..........."

Mr. Tilak's triumph was the triumph of the Home Rule cause. His enemies were crest-fallen. The *Times of India*, which immediately after the decision of the District Magistrate, had preached a homily to Mr. Tilak and poured out its venom in the "Politics in the Deccan" was compelled, knowing discretion to be the better part of valour, to *unreservedly withdraw* the remarks. An attempt was made within a fortnight of the decision of the High Court to lure and tempt Mr. Tilak to disobey the District Police Act. At Gadag, where Mr. Tilak had gone on private business, the District Magistrate, finding that the people had assembled to do him honour, served upon him an order prohibiting him from delivering any harangue. This order was served not at the eleventh hour, but at he twelfth and a less astute or farsighted man than Mr. Tilak would have felt tempted to test its legality by breaking it. Mr. Tilak, however, refused to allow the District Magistrate to regain the ground which the Government had lost by their debacle in the Security Case. Ultimately, *pansupari* was given to Mr. Tilak at the meeting and the

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proceedings ended without any hitch after Mr. Tilak had made a short speech.

In October 1916, Mr. Tilak attended the Ahmedabad Provincial Conference under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah. He received a grand reception from Gujarat He exhorted the Conference to support the constitutional reforms suggested in the "memorandum of 19" In November he was elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee.

It is pleasant to recall these days when he worked hand-in-hand with Mrs. Besant. The Home Rule Propoganda was in full swing. The Bureaucrats were non-plussed, the Moderates were shaking their heads with doubt and hesitation. The nation was drunk with enthusiasm. In Europe, Autocracy was being shattered to pieces. India's loyalty was clear as the sun. The British Nation was grateful; the reactionary element was weak and helpless. The sky was resounding with the cry of Reforms and though many an advanced Moderate and valiant Nationalist did signal service to the National Cause during this period, posterity will justly give credit to the two mighty Lieutenants of the Goddess of Liberty for having kept the flag flying—Mr Tilak and Mrs. Besant.

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CHAPTER XVI

"RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT"

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or groups of men that seek to stand in our way in this day of our high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be Vindicated and made secure for our salvation.

President Wilson

AFTER nine long years of separation, Mr. Tilak joined his old comrades at the Congress of Lucknow (1916). What a change! In 1907, the nation was on the eve of a relentless campaign of repression. Now in 1916, the country was throbbing with the expectation of a vast political transformation, which Mr. Tilak had worked so laboriously to bring about. No wonder therefore, that when he stood to address the 2350 expectant delegates and thrice as many spectators he was accorded an enthusiastic ovation. He said :—

"I am not foolish enough to think that this reception is given to my humble self. It is given, if I rightly understand to those principles for which I have been fighting, principles which have been embodied in the resolution I have the honour to support. I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on the scheme of Self-Government. We are now united in every way in the United Provinces."

Without depreciating the efforts of several leaders who

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worked hard to accomplish the Hindu-Moslem Unity, it may be said that Mr. Tilak's foresight and generosity in substantially conceding many of the demands of the Mahomedans gratified them beyond all measure. They had been taught to believe that Mr. Tilak was anti-Mahomedan, that in the Hindu-Moselm controversies of 1893-94 he had been unfriendly to them and that his Shivaji and Ganapati festivals were instituted with the sole object of irritating their community. They were, therefore, doubly glad to find that Mr. Tilak was in favour of an enormously big percentage of representation to the Mahomedans in the Legislative Councils. To those of his more theoretical and hence less compromising brethren who looked with alarm at these concessions, Mr. Tilak said :—

"It has been said that we, Hindus have yielded too much to our Mahomedan brethren. I am sure, I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India, when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of Self-Government are granted to the Mahomedan Community only. I would not care if they are granted to the Rajputs. I would not care if they are granted to the lower classes of the Hindu population. Then the fight will not be triangular as, at present, it is."

This is the language, not only of magnanimity but of statesmanship also. By making this concession, Mr. Tilak successfully accomplished his object entertained ever since his return from Mandalay of winning over the Muslims. Influences were at work to keep the Mahomedans away from the Hindus ; for Sir James Meston had publicly advised them to place communal

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considerations over the National. It was at this critical time that Mr. Tilak threw the whole weight of his advice and influence over to the side of the Muslims, and secured their lasting co-operation.

In criticising (October 1916), the "Memorandum of 19" Mr. Tilak had said that the demand made therein was pretty well so far as it went but that it was necessary that the succeeding instalments of Self-government should be definitely determined and announced together with the time-limit for complete realization of all our aspirations. He tried his best to press the inclusion of this limit in the resolution of Self-Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Shastri also was of opinion that we should not "hesitate to demand that Responsible Government should be worked up to in the course of the next thirty years." But the stalwarts of the Congress did not favour this view and for the sake of unity Mr. Tilak, dropped the matter. The Congress of 1917 made good this mistake and included a definite time-limit in the resolution of *Swaraj*.

For the sake of unity, Mr. Tilak allowed his scheme of a small and compact Congress Executive to be shelved. The All-India Congress Committee, the time-honoured Executive of the Congress was found to be quite unwieldy and the new body proposed by Mr. Tilak was merely a supplementary body and never aimed at usurping the functions of the old one. Doubtless, Mr. Tilak took his cue from the War-Cabinet of three or four members which Mr. Lloyd George instituted in order to save the inevitable delays of the Cabinet When we remember that even Mr. Lloyd Goerge in times of extreme emergency and national peril could

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bring about this change only by creating a split in the Cabinet and driving out of office his old chief, we are not surprised that Mr. Tilak was unsuccessful. Prejudices and prepossessions die hard. Mr. Tilak would however brook no compromise on one point. He wanted the Congress to call on the Home Rule Leagues and other public Associations to carry on continuously a vigorous propaganda. "If the Congress" he said "would not lead a national agitation, let the Home Rule Leagues at least do the work." It was with evident ill-grace that the veteran Moderates allowed the Resolution to be passed. Even Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya voted against it. This resolution was only the thin end of the wedge and Mr. Tilak trusted time to make the National Congress lead the National movements.

The memorable 1917 dawned and found Mr. Tilak busy with his Home Rule Propaganda. During the whole of this eventful year, Mr. Tilak toured from one end of the country to the other. He delivered lectures at Calcutta, Delhi, Mathura, Nagpur, Akola, Godhra, Surat, Jalgaon, Dhulia, Belgaum, Thana, Sholapur, Satara and other places too numerous to be mentioned in detail. It is estimated that he delivered over 100 lectures to audiences varying from 4 to 20 thousand. He exhorted his countrymen to be up and doing; he wanted them to strike while the iron was hot. His cherished plan of sending a Home Rule Deputation to England was approved of every-where and people gladly paid large sums of money to meet the expenditure.

During the earlier course of the war, the Bureaucracy

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had to hold the dog of repression in leash. But when the Home Rule Leagues were started, the officials felt that something must be done to arrest the tide of enthusiasm. With this object in view, they tried to overawe Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak. But the proceedings against both failed to accomplish the purpose. Then came the Lucknow Congress; and the unique combination of zeal and wisdom, of dash and caution, of idealism and practical statesmanship which the session revealed convinced the Government officials that a New India was really born. The Bureaucracy set itself a-thinking. Even as early as March 1916, Lord Hardinge had cautioned India not to hold any extravagant hopes and to remember that even in the now Self-Governing Colonies, the step of progress had been slow. Lord Chelmsford too had raised his voice against what he called catastrophic changes. About March 1917 "the Government of India issued a Circular to Local Governments outlining the policy to be pursued by the latter in connection with the Indian demand for reforms." Circulars, prohibiting students from attending political meetings, especially those convened by the Home-Rulers or where Home Rule was likely to be discussed were issued. In May 1917, the Governor of Madras and the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab made "pronouncements which betrayed by their similarity of tenor and phraseology, a common source of inspiration. In these pronouncements..these heads of two provinces exaggerated the nature of Indian demands, deprecated them in strong language, enjoined the people to abstain from all agitation and threatened them with repressive action if they did not do so."

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Next to Maharashtra, Madras was the most active province in the cause of Home Rule; unfortunately its Satrap was extremely anxious to loom in the lime-light. He therefore carried out his threat of repression by issuing Internment orders against Mrs. Besant and two of her colleagues. He had expected that the internment of Mrs. Besant would cow down the people. He must have been surprised to find his tyranny met with defiance. The whole country with one voice condemned his action. It was feared that this was only the first of a series of repressive measures contemplated by the Government. There was a widespread alarm that the internment of Besant was meant as a blow to her Home Rule League and that the Government would crush the Home-Rule Leaguers first and the Congressmen afterwards. Viewing the situation from this standpoint, even the Moderate leaders thought it their duty to join the Home Rule Leagues. (The Hon'ble) Mr.M. A. Jinnah and several other leading Congressmen and Muslim-leaguers in Bombay joined the Home Rule League immediately after the publication of the internment order.More important still was the attitude of the Moderate leaders at Allahabad, who at this most momentous crisis joined hands with the Home Rulers and championed their cause. When we remember how, so far as the Punjab at least was concerned, the deportation (1907) of Lala Lajpat Rai had ademoralizing effect on the people, we can appreciate the awakening that had now come over the people, in that they refused to take this gratui tous act of repression with anything like fear or submission.

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At the meeting (July 28th and 29th) of the All-India Congress Committee, Mr. Tilak's voice reigned supreme. He expressed his gratification at the united and strong protest made by the people against the internment of Mrs. Besant. He heartily thanked those of the Moderates who, at the call of duty, stood by Mrs. Besant and the infant Home Rule Leagues. But he was not content merely with the protest, howsoever strong and united it might be. He called for action. What are we to do? Our first duty was, he said, to effect the earliest possible release of Mrs. Besant and her two associates. If the Bureaucracy took the hint and did the needful,—well and good. If however the fetish of prestige held the powers that be from recognizing their mistake, we must compel them to come to terms. Passive Resistance (or Civil Disobedience) was he said the only weapon which would rouse the slumbering conscience of the authorities. The Bureaucracy was on the war-path.It would not even allow us peacefully to protest against the internment orders. If a meeting convened by a leader like Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was prohibited, what guarantee was there, that liberty of expression and action would be allowed to us? Mr. Tilak, therefore, called upon the All-India Congress Committee to give a definite lead to the people.

The Moderates were in a sore fix. There was not a single bright speck in the political firmament on which they could rely. On occasions when the spirit of enthusiasm is abroad, ' wisdom ' is at a discount. ' Foresight and reasoned judgment ' are synonyms for timidity. The Nation thinks not with the brain but with an overheated heart. Who can say whether in the

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long run such discarding of all caution and moderation leads to success or not? It is only in the throes of tumult that Nations are born. It is exactly at this time that the moderate leaders, terrified at the narrow line which separates them and the people from utter destruction cry halt. Their gray hair, their long and faithful services to the country fail to evoke anything like reverential obedience. But what can the people do? Is not the maxim "nothing venture, nothing have" true in politics also? Does it not perhaps become the only honourable and probably successful course on such occasions? Unfortunately these are questions for the future historian and not for the soldiers in fight.

In the manly representation made mainly under the inspiration of Mr. Tilak by the All-India Congress Committee to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the represesive and reactionary policy of the Government of the day was condemned and the urgent necessity of the immediate grant of a substantial instalment of *Swaraj* was established. It was plainly stated that unless a Royal Proclamation regarding the early fulfilment of all our aspirations was issued and Mrs. Besant and the Ali brothers were forthwith set free the prevailing discontent would not be allayed. The Congress Committee also testified to the unexceptionable and satisfactory work done by the Home Rule Leagues. It will thus be seen that the representation of the Committee was a statesmanlike document which profoundly influenced the course of future events.

Though Mr. Tilak was anxious to get the All-India Congress Committee pass a resolution recommending the adoption of Passive Resistance, still he was more

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anxious to carry with him as many Moderates as he possibly could. Instead, therefore, of insisting upon an immediate passing of a resolution to the effect, he willingly supported the idea that all the Provincial Committees should in the first instance be called upon to submit their views on the subject. He knew that time was with him and that sooner or later Passive Resistance was bound to be adopted. He could afford to wait, being convinced of the ultimate result.

Mr. Tilak disagreed with all those who sought to bring about the release of Mrs. Bealsant merely by prayers and petitions. " If we want to prove how keenly we feel for her," " let us elect her President of the coming Congress." Released or unreleased, Mrs. Besant must be President. This was both sentiment and statesmanship. In accordance with this suggestion, the various Provincial Congress Committees nominated Mrs. Besant for the Presidentship of the Calcutta Congress. This attitude was in direct opposition to the conduct and policy of the Moderates. Their policy was not to provoke the displeasure or anger of the Bureaucracy by calling upon persons disliked by Government to preside over the deliberations of the Congress. With that object in view, was Mr. Tilak's name repeatedly set aside, and when at Calcutta, his election seemed fairly certain, the Grand Old Man of India was invited (1906) for the honour. With that object in view, was Lala Lajpat Rai kept from the Presidential chair, when the Nation with one voice demanded his election at Surat (1907). The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale while opposing the election of the Lala had said " we cannot flout the Government. The Government will throttle our movement in no time.". . What

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would have been Mr. Gokhale's surprise, had he been living in 1917, to learn that the overwhelming majority of the Nation had determined to flout the Government by electing Mr. Besant and Mr. Mahomed Ali for the Presidentship of the National Congress and Muslim League respectively even when they were in internment?

With the Moderates' opposition to the adoption of Passive Resistance and to the election of Mrs. Besant for the Presidentship of the Congress, it was clear that a crisis was approaching and that the unity, which the Nation had shown in formulating the Congress-League scheme and in conducting vigorously the Home Rule agitation, was terribly strained. The loose organisation of the Congress threatened to be wrecked on the rocks of serious party differences. But the timely appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India considerably improved the situation. The historic declaration of August 20th soon followed. Another announcement still—Mr. Montagu was to come over to India to study the question of Constitutional Reforms! The situation at once changed. The cry of Passive Resistance was dropped; and every set of politicians began to formulate the political reforms to be sought at the hands of the new Secretary of State.

If there was any politician in India whose programme of work was not materially altered by the announcement of Mr. Montagu's visit, it was Mr. Tilak; with his unerring judgment, he clearly saw that whatever concessions Mr. Montague would be inclined to make would, to a considerable extent, be negatived by the reactionary forces at work in India and England;

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and that the only way of not only strengthening the hands of the Secretary of State for India bur also of stimulating his generosity and sense of justice was an effective appeal to the British Democracy. There were those who argued that this was hardly the time to thrust our grievances upon the attention of our distracted and well-nigh disappointed rulers. Mr. Tilak begged to differ from them. Though not prepared to hold that" "England's difficulty is our opportunity" he saw nothing wrong in drawing Britain's urgent attention to the easiest way of enlisting India's vast man-power in their cause. Side by side, therefore, with the work of organizing our resources and formulating the demands to be placed before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, he continued unabated the still more important task of awakening the people to a full consciousness of the supreme importance of his plan of campaign.

Mr. Tilak's triumphant Home Rule tour was twice interrupted to suit the work of the moment. On November 26th, the joint deputation of the Madras and Poona Home Rule Leagues waited on Lord Chelmsford and the Secretary of State and on the following day Mr. Tilak had a long interview with Mr. Montague. He was extremely well-received and is said to have created a deep impression on the mind of the Secretary of State. May we add that the efforts of the latter to secure Mr. Tilak's full support to the impending reforms were all unavailing?

The Calcutta session of the National Congress under the Presidentship of Mrs. Besant called forth all the statesmanship of Mr. Tilak. The Declaration of August 20th, 1917, had in a sense, created a great muddle in the

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political situation. The Congress-League scheme was drawn up on the basis of an irremovable executive. In all our agitation we had supported the Congress-League scheme. To change, even in one essential, the scheme which was formulated with great care and caution would have opened a flood-gate of amendments and the unity of the Congress would have been weakened by dissensions. Mr. Tilak, therefore, suggested that until the Government scheme of Reforms was out, we should stick to the one which had evoked the unanimous support of the people. There was time enough to decide, after the Government published its report on constitutional reforms, whether in the light of the official proposals, the Congress-League scheme should be modified or not.

A welcome step in advance was the insertion of a time-limit in the Resolution of *Swaraj*.

While Mr. Tilak was straining every nerve to collect funds for the Home Rule League Deputation, the model Moderates were gradually being won over and were impressed with the necessity of supporting any scheme of reforms that would be placed before the Parliament. When we remember, how eager our Moderate friends are for co-operation with the Government, which sometimes means quiet submission to the bureaucratic will; when we remember how the unmeaning reforms of 1909 were praised as " generous and just," need we wonder that the Moderates rallied round the banner of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State ? Those who know something of the inner history of Indian Politics during the few months preceding the publication of the Mont-ford Report are well aware of the specific purpose for which

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the Liberal League was started at Calcutta under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. The circulars sent by the Secretaries of the League all over Bengal, calling upon people to be fully prepared to study the forthcoming report " impartially and without any prejudice " and to accept the scheme even when it fell short of our expectations, prove beyond all doubt that many of the Moderates had determined to secede from the Congress even before the publication of the Report. In their beggarly impatience to get something without any risk, they decided to abandon the Congress, for they fully anticipated what the reception of the Report would be. Instead of calling upon the Nation to stand up, firm and strong, these Moderates began to send round mysterious whispers; and for the sake of a few crumbs of Self-Government they were willing to discard that unity which in spite of occasional tension, had prevailed since 1915, in the politics of the country. It was in this atmosphere of secrecy and conspiracy on the one hand and suspicion and distrust on the other that the Report, long awaited was published (July 1918).

The distrust with which the generality of the people looked to the publication of the Report was due to a number of significant events of which the 11th hour cancellation of the passports of Mr. Tilak and his colleagues was not the least important. It was daily becoming clearer and clearer that a reactionary element was at work, both here and in England and that it was useless to expect a satisfactory settlement of our grievances so long as these reactionaries were allowed to run amuck. People had expected that Mr. Montague would attend

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the War Conference at Delhi and make some inspiring pronouncement. He did nothing of the kind. To the War Conference held under the Presidency of the Viceroy neither Mrs. Besant nor Mr. Tilak was invited. The Self-Government resolution proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde was ruled out of order. The Conference was all an official show and hence proved a complete failure. Nor was the mistake rectified at Bombay where Lord Willingdon inflicted on his audience a severe sermon on Home Rulers, whose *bona fides* he called into question. Mr. Tilak was called upon to speak but was not allowed to make a mention of Home Rule and had to stop. More significant than all these were the rumoured recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which were intended as a set off against the proposals contained in the Montford-Report. The notorious Rowlatt report, so disastrous to the cause of Indian Liberty, was equally damaging to Mr. Tilak, the course of whose action against Sir Valentine Chirol it was likely to influence profoundly.

The Montford-Report was condemned by the majority of educated Indians. Mr. Tilak characterized it as a "sunless dawn." Mrs. Besant held that the political reforms indicated in the Report were unworthy of England to give and of India to take. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel showed how in certain details the report had made retrograde proposals. Mr. N. C. Kelkar pronounced the proposals as cruelly disappointing and "almost a wicked attempt to let Indian leaders be stewed in their own juice." The Hon'ble Mr. B. Chakrabarty said that throughout the report, the fetish of peace, order and good Government was worshipped.

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Prof. Jitendralal Banerjea declared that the reforms were grudging, half-hearted, meagre, inadequate and hence disappointing and abortive; while the veteran Dr. Subrahmanyam Ayer advised his countrymen not to touch the narcotic that was offered to them.

To place "the essentials of the Congress-League scheme within the frame-work of the Montague-Chelmsford Report" so that neither the fire-eaters of the Extremist Party nor the cautious members of the Moderate Party might find reasonable cause for grumbling was an extremely difficult and delicate work. Much of the credit of having restrained the fury of the "Extremists" can be claimed by Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. "If your cavalry charges a-head brilliantly, galloping on the foe, without the preparation of the artillery, without the support of the infantry, what will happen? The enemy will meet them in their charge, will find them unsupported, will mow them down separated from the main body of the host, and then, having annihilated the cavalry, he would advance across the grounds left empty to annihilate the infantry in its turn." Mr. Tilak was in complete accord with these sentiments of Mrs. Besant and co-operated with her in trying to prevent the Moderates from seceding.

Knowing that he would be required to do the work of a Peace-maker, Mr. Tilak, with rare self-effacement refused to accept the Presidentship of the Special Session of the Congress. Even when the Moderates definitely parted company and, in the language of Sir Dinshaw Petit "collected round them some people who never took part in politics except grind their own axes" and sought to have a separate Conference of their own, Mr.

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Tilak was desirous of keeping the door open for their return to the Congress Camp. On the fourth day of the Congress (September 1st 1918), the Resolution on the Reform Scheme was moved by (the Hon'ble) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in a closely-reasoned speech which will go down to future generations as a historic and statesmanlike pronouncement. (The Hon'ble) Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, the distinguished Parsi millionaire seconded the Resolution in a lucid speech which described how " the Resolution dispels the fear of some of our friends and shatters the hope of our enemies that the Congress was going to reject the seheme without discussing its merits or demerits." Eleven leading Congressmen supported the Resolution. Pandit Motilal Nehru showed how the Congress was " able to perform the impossible feat of uniting its appreciation, recognition, and in plain English, its condemnation " of the Montague-Chelmsford Report. Mr. Fazlul Haq proved how " though we hear of the change of the angle of vision, it is either an obtuse angle or an acute angle but never the *right* angle." Mr. Jayakar showed how the " taint of the school-master "was responsible for the "periodic examinations "set for the Indian people. Mrs. Besant wound up the discussion in an impassioned speech. Speaking to the Resolution, Mr. Tilak said :—

" What we have tried to do in the Subjects' Commitee is to distil our different opinions, and it was very difficult to distil " the gourds and the cucumbers " together. It was no easy task ; even our enemies had considered it to be difficult. They believed that we were engaged in an impossible business and that by the beginning of September the Congress would be no-

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where. Unfortunately for them, their predictions have not proved true. So long as the spirit of forbearance and the spirit of give-and-take pervades in the Councils of the Congress such a fatal contingency is never likely to arise.

" We were told that the Congress was going to reject the whole scheme. I could never understand and have never understood what it meant. We are in the midst of our negotiations. If you reject the scheme you have done with it. What are you then going to tell the British people? "That we reject the scheme?" I think that we have learnt enough of politics to know that it is absurd to take such a position. Fortunately for all, we have been able to place before you a reasoned document, a resolution, which combines the wisdom of one party, I may say, the temperament of another party, and if you like to call it, I do not like to call it myself—the rashness of a third party.

" The Montague Report is a beautiful, very skilful and statesmanlike document. We asked for eight annas of Self-government; that report gives us one anna of Responsible Government and says that it is better than the eight annas of Self-Government. The whole literary skill of the Report lies in making us believe that one morsel of Responsible Government is more than sufficient to satisfy our hunger for Self-government. We now plainly say to the Government, ' we thank you for the one anna of Responsible Government but in the scheme we want to embody, not all that is embodied in the Congress-League scheme, the rails might be different but the carriages that carry passengers might be transferred from one rail to another. This is what

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we have tried to do and we have tried to satisfy all parties concerned and a very difficult task has been accomplished. The future way is clear and I hope that what we have done will be of material help in carrying on this fight to the end."

The moderation and good sense of the special session of the Congress disarmed all opposition and many of the seceders returned to the old camp at Delhi (December 1918) where, however, in the absence of Mr. Tilak, a variety of circumstances conspired to foment those dissensions which have, ever since, made Indian Politics such a hopeless tangle. Neither the rancour nor the differences born of the Delhi Congress has been allayed or made up. On the contrary, the bitterness has been further intensified by succeeding events,—the passing of the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of Indian opposition; the campaign of Civil Disobedience started by Mahatma Gandhi, the irresponsible acts of Government's agents, culminating in the shocking Punjab tragedy with all its long and interminable sequal. All this while, Mr. Tilak was a passive though deeply interested observer in distant London.

While Mr. Tilak was on his way to England, he was unanimously elected President of the Delhi Congress. This was the considered reply which the Nation gave to the prohibitionary order issued by Lord Willingdon. While the Bureaucracy lost no opportunity of discrediting him, our hero was the recipient of the highest honours at the disposal of his admiring countrymen.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE MISSION TO ENGLAND

I have had many opportunities of exchanging views with Mr. Tilak during his stay in England, and every time that I have spoken with him, I have felt that he was truly a statesman and not a mere politician. The way in which he was able to take a sane view of the Indian situation in Britain, within a few days of his arrival in this country (England) made me marvel at his perspicuity. . . . .

St. Nihal Sing

NEVER abject, never fanatical, Mr. Tilak's methods of political agitation were a unique combination of manliness, astuteness and a sense of proportion. He disdained the constant waitings, never-ending mendicancy that characterised the efforts of some of the extreme Moderates. On the other hand, he kept clear from the noxious weed of anarchism. Within these two clearly-defined limits, he was willing to work in any way, if he was sure of the wisdom of the path. He was "an operator, a co-operator, and a non-co-operator." He liked to vary his means with changes in circumstances. In 1904, he had spoken to a Congress resolution supporting political deputations to England. He was, then, anxious to rouse the Moderate leaders from their dangerous slumber and when the Congress Depu-

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tation was sent to England, he intended to start a vigorous agitation in India to back it up. With the Partition of Bengal came a change. Public opinion in India was roused to an intense pitch. Appeals were made to England. They were unheeded. The people lost their faith in the good intentions of England. At this time, the question of sending deputations to England was raised; but now Mr. Tilak opposed the idea. The Nationalist Party wanted to *force* England's attention to India by means of a vigorous Boycott movement. In this programme of Boycott, deputations had no place. Ten eventful years passed and the times were changed. The India of 1917 was not the India of 1907. New forces were at work, not only in India but all the world over. The war of 'Liberty' had transformed the civilised world, established India's necessity to England and extorted from the most bigoted Anglo-Indians and English men and women tributes to India's loyalty and India's heroism. This was, indeed, the time to press our claims on the grateful attention of England, open her eyes to India's grievances and to the valour strength and ability lying unused, discouraged and put down by the suspicions of the Bureaucrats in India. "Now is the time when a political mission ought to be established in England" said Mr. Tilak. "We must cease to be parochial. Our earliest activities were merely local and isolated. Then they became provincial and then National. Now is the time to plunge into international currents of thought and life, realise our ideal, and to convince the world that India is seriously after attaining her highest not only in National life but in the international affairs as well".

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The old guard of the Moderate Party could not muster up courage to "pinprick" the British Lion in the midst of his struggle. Mrs. Besant, however, cordially supported Mr. Tilak, for she knew the value of world-propaganda. In the Lucknow Congress, Mr. Tilak's scheme for a vigilant Executive for the Congress was ruled out of order. His persistent attempts to get the sanction of the Congress for a strong deputation met with tardy and nominal success. A deputation was agreed upon; but every excuse was found for delay; and when at last, procrastination was impossible, was received the cable of Sir William Wedderburn advising delay. In the meanwhile, judgment in England was going against us by default. The Sydenham group was busy as ever; India's "representatives" like the Maharaja of Bikaner declared that India wanted not *Swaraj* but only a little dose of Reforms; the tide of repression was merrily flowing in. Finding the big Moderate guns immoveable, Mr. Tilak sent out the indefatigable and enterprising Mr. Baptista for pioneer work in England. The goodwill and co-operation of the Labour Party was secured; and yet a well-organised propaganda was to be carried on. In the meanwhile, Mr. Montague himself had come over to India to look into India's grievances; this was a further excuse for delay. At last both Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant decided to send their own "Home Rule Deputations" to England and herein they were wise, as later, the All-India Congress Committee decided not to send out a deputation until the Montague Report was out and the Special Session of the Congress had pronounced India's verdict thereupon.

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It was this suicidal and unstatesmanlike dilatoriness that Mr. Tilak strongly disliked. "You will never find" said he, "a better opportunity of arousing the slumbering conscience of the average Britisher. When even Mr. Bonar Law advises the colonies to strike when the iron is hot, surely, we shall be failing in our duty, if we don't take up the hint." The usual Indian claims for Swaraj, he argued, are based upon sentimental appeals to English Liberalism or compassion. Now, is the opportunity to show how England can save herself by saving India, become great herself by giving India the opportunity to regain her pristine glory. He wanted to tell the English Democracy how their representatives in India had kept the children of the soil under their heels, prostrate, starving and emasculated and how the tonic of Swaraj if given now, would still enable India to do full justice to her ambition of helping Britain. This was the message which Mr. Tilak wanted to deliver in England. It was dignified,lofty and wholesome.

Since the entry of the capitalistic class into the field of politics, the difficulty of collecting funds is not acutely felt. Yet Mr. Tilak always preferred to have small contributions from many to a big donation from one. "I should like to have 64 pice from as many persons instead of one rupee from one." he said; and on this principle he set about collecting funds for the Home Rule Deputation. He made extensive tours in Belgaum, Nasik, Sholapur, Thana, and Kolaba districts, where along with the inevitable addresses and processions, large purses were presented to him. His tour in the Central Provinces and Berar was from this

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standpoint the grandest, the most successful because well organised. During a short period of little less than three weeks (Feb. 1918) he delivered lectures at 30 places and collected one hundred and fifty thousand Rupees. He travelled one thousand miles by motor and an equal distance by railway. It was a triumph of will power pure and simple; for his body, old, weakened and ailing was utterly unable to bear the strain.

In a monemt of exhaustion he once said "People can't possibly realise that I feel so weak. When the moment comes I lecture. But the body is all the while breaking under the strain. The lecture over, I retire from the crowds and sleep over my fatigue. Only my will supports me. The body is done up." Extensive tours—especially those that call forth constant crowds and require frequent lectures try the strength of the youngest and the most energetic. Mr. Tilak at 61 did not hesitate to undertake a long and busy tour, preparatory to his voyage to England. What an iron will he had!

The Home Rule Deputation was turned back from Colombo at the last moment and Mr. Tilak had to wait for some time more. In the meanwhile his defamation suit against Sir Valentine Chirol was hanging fire; finding that it could not reasonably be postponed, the Government had to permit Mr. Tilak to proceed to England. The Bureaucracy, however, took special care to send Mr. Tilak with a gag on his mouth and a slur on his loyalty. He was required to give a pledge that he would not address any meetings while in England and a couple of months before Mr. Tilak proceeded to England he was prohibited from speaking in India with-

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out the previous permission of the District Magistrate. The alleged reason was a speech supposed to discourage recruiting. Mr. Tilak was too busy with his legal and other work to attempt to speak in India. But the undertaking he was required to give as regards his silence in England was evidently very inconvenient. He had to give it which he did *under protest.* But the first thing he did in England was to get the undertaking cancelled. Nor was this very difficult. If Dr. Nair, who had given a similar undertaking could get the permission of the British Cabinet to make speeches, why should not Mr. Tilak have the same ? Surely, what is sauce for goose is sauce for gander also. He did get the cancellation of the pledge, though of course, he was shrewd enough not to endanger his case in the Court by a too early appearance on the public platform. His failure in his suit against Sir Valentine Chirol was due largely to the prejudice created by the prohibition order of Lord Willingdon, the externment orders from Delhi and Lahore, the untimely publication in England of the Rowlatt Report and by the peculiarly perverted manner in which Sir Edward Carson made capital out of his two convictions for sedition. Whatever the reasons, the result was certainly disastrous not only to Mr. Tilak individually, but to his cause as well.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Tilak had already commenced his self-imposed task of reorganizing the British Congress Committee and the affairs of the *India.* Both the Committee and the newspaper owe their existence to the need felt, ever since the birth of the Congress, of educating the English public, whose ignorance about India was—and unfortunately still is—almost pheno-

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menal. A humorous story is told illustrative of this ignorance. It was the day following the death of Lord Northbrook. Two Englishmen were travelling in a railway carriage. "One of them, looking through the news columns of the paper in his hand, quietly asked 'Who is this Lord Northbrook that snipped off yesterday?' 'Who knows?' said his equally indifferent companion "May be some relation of Lord Cromer'." It was to counter-act the evil effects of such abysmal ignorance of Englishmen even about persons sent out to India as Viceroys, that the British Congress Committee was started in 1889 and the newspaper *India* in 1890. As long as the Congress was a united body controlled by Moderate leaders with whom the Congress Committee was in general agreement, there was no difficulty. But now came a change. The Moderates had seceded from the Congress; and the Congress Committee and its weekly organ were still the monopoly of the British friends of the Moderates; the result was that though the Congress supported the journal and spent nearly Rs. 30,000 annually on the work of the Committee, the policy of *India* was antagonistic to that of the Congress. Mr. Polak whose evident leanings towards the Moderates, ill fitted him for his editorial work under the changed circumstances, had not, Mr. Tilak was astonished to find, cared to publish even the Resolutions of the Special Congress (1918).

Mr. Tilak, though the chosen President of the Delhi Congress, was not the bearer of any mandate from the Congress. So he found it very difficult to carry on his work with the Congress Committee and *India*. The reactionary element in the Committee assumed a lofty

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attitude and claimed to be wiser than the Congress. Even for such a simple thing as attending the meeting of the Committee, Mr. Tilak had to move heaven and earth. He received insults at every turn and "was made to feel that he was a busy-body." Fortunately for him, the Delhi Congress took up the question of re-organizing the work in England. The Congress Deputation was specially charged with this work; and until order was brought out of chaos, supplies were witheld. Still, Mr. Polak and his friends in the Committee went on with their even course; and under one pretext or another, the work was postponed indefinitely. There were three persons among the Directors who could not tolerate these dilatory tactics of Mr. Polak. So, "Dr. Clark, Dr. Rutherford and Mr. Parekh, as Directors of the *India* asked the acting editor whether or not, he could conscientiously support the Congress policy." Mr. Polak at once declared that he was no longer responsible for the editorial control of the paper. After his resignation, Miss Normanton became editor and was guided in her work by Mr. N. C. Kelkar during the period he was in England.

In his task of re-organizing the Congress Committee Mr. Tilak was considerably helped by Dr. Clark and his followers, who, in spite of the opposition of several ex-Presidents of the Congress, adopted a new Constitution in August 1919. By this change in the Constitution, only persons in thorough agreement with the Congress policy could become the members of the British Congress Committee. The rest had to resign.

It will be thus seen that after nearly one year's persistent work, Mr. Tilak triumphed. When Mr. Tilak left

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for England, there were many well-meaning persons who had expressed their doubt as to whether, Mr. Tilak had at that advanced age the necessary elasticity of spirit to do the difficult and delicate work undertaken by him. They admired Mr. Tilak's ability but evidently thought that "an oak can't be transplanted at sixty." But by his adroitness in dealing with men and affairs, Mr. Tilak fully proved that though his body was old, his heart was ever young.

The spadework done by Mr. Joseph Baptista since August 1917 was of invaluable use to Mr. Tilak. At the Labour Party Conference at Nottingham (Jan. 23rd 1918) the Party had *pledged itself to assist* (*India*) *in every possible way* in her efforts to win Home Rule. Mr. Tilak cultivated the friendship of Labour leaders and the confidence they placed in him and the Congress Deputation was so great, that they agreed to move in Parliament amendments to the Government of India Bill in spite of Mrs. Besant's best endeavours to dissuade them from so doing. His alliance with the Labour party was of great use to the party itself especially in its efforts to bring out the *Herald* as a daily paper.

At the same time, Mr. Tilak did not neglect whatever aid and co-operation he could derive from the moribund Liberal Party.

It was Mr. Tilak's earnest desire to bring about perfect unanimity amongst all the important deputations, then in England. He believed in unity more than in any other thing and tried his best to win over Mrs. Besant and the Moderate leaders. He appealed to Mrs. Besant to forget all the bitterness of the Delhi Congress

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and so chalk out her course as to bring about unity. But she and the Moderate leaders were pledged to support the Reforms. No doubt they talked of slight improvements, here and there ; but they made no secret of their intention of accepting whatever reforms were granted. Probably they were afraid of reactionaries of the type of Lord Sydenham and considered it to be the height of statesmanship to run no risks. They wanted to strengthen the hands of Mr. Montague. Mr. Tilak on the contrary knew full well that it was to establish its credit with the civilized nations that England was granting us Reforms. Mr. Montague was as anxious to give as we were to take. Why not ask for more ? The philosophy of Moderation said "Half a loaf is better than none." Mr. Tilak was prepared, if need be, to risk the loss of the proferred half in his endeavours to get three-quarters. He believed more in winning than in receiving. It was, therefore, psychologically impossible that the Moderates should come over to his side. Not only were they unwilling to join hands with him in the matter of Reforms, but even regarding the Punjab situation. Several members of the Congress Deputation approached prominent members of the Moderate Deputation but with no result. The efforts of the British Congress Committee were also unavailing.

Mr. Tilak did his best to "educate the British Democracy" by means of speeches and writings. Mr. Tilak's shortcomings as a speaker have been noticed by many unsympathetic critics. It is worth remembering therefore, that many of his speeches were greatly appreciated by the British audiences. Mr. Tilak never appealed

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to passions, but always to reason. The average English man is a hard-headed man. Appeal to his common-sense and he is won over ; and Mr. Tilak's appeals were always directed to his head. It is not, therefore, surprising that Mr. Tilak's speeches created a favourable impression on those who heard him.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh thus describes a speech by Mr. Tilak :—

" Of all these addresses, the one that I like best was the one that Mr. Tilak delivered at the Caxton Hall while sitting in a chair, because he had sprained his ankle. Mr. Tilak outlined the conditions existing in India in olden times, referring to the accounts of the wealthy, prosperous enlightened India left by foreign travellers. He asked the audience particularly to note the vast extent of the Indian Empire ruled over by Asoka and Samudra Gupta. He went on to relate that our country in those days, not only possessed a wealth of religious and philosophical literature but was industrially great and self-sufficing in every respect, able to satisfy all her material and artistic wants.

" Passing from the pleasant picture of ancient India, Mr. Tilak gave a graphic description of India to-day, with her millions of sons and daughters who, because of appaling poverty, never know what it is to have the pangs of hunger stilled. He told how the East India Company had deliberately killed our industries, throwing the whole weight of population upon agriculture.

" Taking up the political question, Mr. Tilak assured the audience, that Indians were not anti-British,—they were only ' anti-Bureaucracy ' They desired the British connection to continue.

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"Then Mr. Tilak shattered, one by one, the arguments advanced against granting Self-government to India. The Bureaucrats, he said, were themselves responsible for illiteracy in India. While deploring caste and acknowledging that it required radical modification, he denied that it constituted a reason for refusing self-Government. The British, he pointed out, quarreled among themselves quite as much as Indians did. There was no Ulster in India—Hindus and Muslims were agreed concerning the constitutional reforms. He challenged the statement that Indians did not desire Home Rule. He demanded to know why, India alone, of all the British oversea units, should be expected to achieve Self-government 'step by step'. That phrase had no meaning in this age of progress. Indians should immediately be given control over their purely domestic civil affairs."

This was, in brief, the line of reasoning adopted by Mr. Tilak in convincing and winning over the British Democracy. He, however, did not confine his activities merely to speeches. He sent out contributions to the Press and published several pamphlets and leaflets. In England, Mr. Tilak found that in spite of the so-called liberty and independence of the Press, the great Fourth Estate is practically manipulated and controlled by a few groups of politicians most of whom are quite insular in their outlook. Though swayed by "empire hunger" these politicians care very little for the true interests of the empire. English Liberalism is essentially a 'white' Liberalism. It is not intended for the Black or the Brown. The English Press, therefore cares very little for India, so much so that not only are well in-

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formed contributions on Indian Affairs unwelcome but even paid advertisements of Indian meetings are not always accepted.

In the general election of 1918, Mr. Tilak was busy drawing the attention of English men and women to the problems of India. He issued four leaflets " each consisting of a page tastefully printed on one side only." Thousands of copies of these leaflets were distributed during the electioneering campaign.

Mr. Tilak's pamphlet on " Self-determination " attracted much notice. It was sent to hundreds of statesmen and politicians in England and abroad. Similarly his petition to the President of the Peace Conference as an elected representative of the Congress, was widely read. Of this no fewer than a lakh of copies were issued. Besides these, a number of stray publications sought to attract England's attention to the cause of India.

" On August 6th, Mr. Tilak, on behalf of the Indian Home Rule League, of which he was the President, appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the two Houses, set up to consider the Government of India Bill, and was asked by Lord Selbourne, the Chairman, to make any statement that he cared to make to supplement the answers that he had given to the list of questions compiled by the Committee. Speaking without hesitation, in clear theough rather low tones, Mr. Tilak declared that the League in behalf of which he appeared, had accepted the Declaration of August 20, 1917, in regard to His Majesty's Government's policy in India, though he and his colleagues put their own construction upon the latter part of the Declaration, which

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left the pace at which India should proceed towards Responsible Government, to the authorities in White Hall to determine in consultation with the Government of India. They took the view that the proposals put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were not necessarily the corollary to the pronouncement. A much larger measure of Self-Government could be given to Indians without in any way going against the spirit of the British policy as laid down in that Declaration. In fact, even the Congress-League Scheme provided for advance by stages, though the stages would be fewer than they would be under the Montague-Chelmsford scheme. He also insisted that it was necessary that a time-limit be fixed in the statute for the attainment by India of fully Responsible administration. The term of 15 years fixed by the Congress might appear arbitrary but it was reasonable.

"Mr. Tilak also claimed that Indians were fully fit for administering Provinces, and that they should be given Provincial Autonomy. He also declared that Responsibility in the Central Government was absolutely necessary. He suggested that at least those departments in the Central Government which dealt with affairs which in the case of the provinces were considered fit to be transferred to popular control, should be placed under responsible Ministers. That could be done without resorting to diarchy. The Congress and the League had suggested a scheme for that purpose, and had provided sufficient safeguards.

"Mr. Tilak claimed that good materials for electorates existed in India. Indeed, he went so far as to state that one word from the officials could create elctorates.

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Above all, he wished to see the officials deprived of the initiative for inaugurating large policies that they at present possessed, and reduced to the status of permanent servants in Britain and other countries. Such initiative should only be exercised by the people's representatives. Lastly, he considered the inclusion of a Declaration of Rights in the Statute was absolutely necessary "*.

After thec ompletion of the above oral statement it was naturally expected that Mr. Tilak would be cross-examined by the several members of the Committee, and as it was further expected that the cross-examination of Mr. Tilak would particularly be lively, the Committee-room was crowded to its utmost capacity. But it was soon announced that the Committee did not intend to trouble Mr. Tilak with questions. This particular solicitude for Mr. Tilak was evidently the offspring of prejudice. It is said that when the name of Mr. Tilak was sent to the Committee to represent the Indian Home Rule League, Lord Selbourne asked the members of the Committee whether Mr. Tilak was to be allowed to make a statement. The majority of the members were strongly against hearing Mr. Tilak, but none of them could hit upon some specious pretext on which he was to be rejected. They, therefore, had to allow him to appear before them, but as they did not like to tolerate his presence more than was absolutely necessary, they 'non-co-operated' with him by refusing to put him questions. This childish conduct of the Committee shows the deep prejudice with which even the better mind of England regarded the greatest of Indians then living.

* Mr. Tilak's work in England (St. Nihal Singh ; *Modern Review* October 1919).

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When the Joint Parliamentary Committee had finished its labours and the passing of the Government of India Bill had been duly ensured, Mr. Tilak hastened back to India. He left England on October 30th, 1919 and reached Bombay, hale and hearty, on 27th November 1919, just a month before the Amritsar Congress. Some of his opponents have said that his mission to England broadened his outlook. Mr. Tilak never required any contact with England to broaden his vision for the simple reason that his outlook was never parochial. His life in England only deepened his faith in foreign propaganda and he intended to take the earliest opportunity of establishing permanent political missions at London, Paris and New York.

An esteemed friend and associate of Mr. Tilak refers to his work in England in the following admiring language :—

" ....Then again Mr. Tilak had to fight against great odds, before the Deputation arrived, in the matter of getting the London public to properly understand and appreciate the Congress scheme of Reforms. At every meeting, he impressed his audience with his remarkably terse statement of facts and brilliant reasoning. You all know what remarkable powers, Mr. Tilak possesses of narrowing down the issues in a controversy and I may say he had never before an opportunity, like the one he had in England, for displaying his powers of elucidating matters of controversy and standing erect upon his own platform among the ruins of his opponents. He had quite a large variety of opponents from the agressive Sinn Feiner and *bona fide* Revolutionist in England, who would if he could, blast

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the Indian constitutional workers with his supreme contempt—to the facile and plausible official exponent who dared appear on the public platform to make the worse cause appear the better. But the final verdict of every audience Mr. Tilak addressed was that while with his peculiar subtlety and tactfulness, he put the Revolutionist out of Court, he made mince-meat of the official or semi-official propagandist.........."

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CHAPTER XVIII

TILAK—*V*—CHIROL.

From the Deccan * * his (Mr. Tilak's) infiuence projected far and wide. * * his prestige as a Brahmin of Brahmins, and as pillar of Orthodoxy, * * his reputation fcr profound learning in the philosophies of the West and the East, his trenchant style, his indefatigable activity, the glamour of his philanthrophy, his accessibility to high and low, his many acts of genuine kindliness, (his) personal magnetism * * combined to equip him more fully than any other Indian Politician for the leadership of a revolutionary movement.

Indian Unrest by Sir. V. Chirol.
Page 54.

THE late Mr. Gokhale used to describe how he was once humourously taken to task by an Executive Councillor for having made a seditious speech. On Mr. Gokhale's denying having done so, a C. I. D. report of his speech was produced and both Mr. Gokhale and the Official laughed over the perversions and distortions contained in that report. It is not given to every public leader to be a *persona grata* with the Government, nor can he expect to have that constant communication with the highest officers which alone, can, if possible remove such misunderstandings. If in some future generation after the attainment of *Swaraj*, the historian of this period has access to confidential reports of the Government, he will be able to mention how hundreds

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of persons had to suffer persecutions only because of the malice or ignorance of the C. I. D. reporters. Mr. Tilak's record with the Government will, in particular, shed curious light on the workings of numerous minds bent on crushing him by hook or crook. The revelations made in the correspondence, recently published by the *Mahratta*, between H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur on the one hand and a number of officials on the other have startled many a publicist and have afforded much side-light on the events which form the subject-matter of the correspondence. In his dealings with the Government, Mr. Tilak felt that the undercurrent of the Bureaucratic mind was poisoned by mischievous and malicious reports of his activities. But he was powerless to contradict or convince. He patiently bore all the pricks of his position, buoyed up by the faith, that, the day of reckoning must come, sooner or later, and the misunderstandings that prejudiced the powers that be, must ultimately melt like a mist. The publication of the "Indian Unrest" by Sir Valentine Chirol, afforded Mr. Tilak the necessary opportunity of vindicating his loyalty and proving to the satisfaction of the world, the righteousness of his conduct and the truth and justice of his cause. In attacking Sir. Valentine Chirol's book, Mr. Tilak's chief object was surely to show how very prejudiced was the medium through which the Bureaucracy looked at him; for, in truth, "The Indian Unrest"—so far, at least, as it described the personality of Mr. Tilak—was a systematic exposition of the theories contained in the confidential papers of the Government concerning Mr. Tilak.

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Sir Valentine Chirol had been deputed in 1910 by the "*Times* (London)" to study whether "The lull in the storm of Indian Unrest" indicated "a gradual and steady return to more normal and peaceful conditions" or whether "as in other cyclonic disturbances in tropical climes it merely presaged fiercer outbursts yet to come"; whether "the blended policy of repression and concession (had) really cowed down the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of Moderate opinion to the cause of sober and constitutional progress or whether it had come too late, either permanently to arrest the former or to restore confidence and courage to the latter*." This was a problem which Sir. Valentine Chirol set himself to study; and after a long and careful investigation he came to the conclusion that it was almost a misnomer to speak of Indian unrest, that it was confined only to Hindus living in the Urban areas of Mahratta Deccan, the Cental Provinces, Bengal and the Punjab and that with respect to such "repression meant nothing more cruel than the application of surgery to diseased growths †" and as "it is impossible that we should ever concede to India the rights of Self-Government, §" Sir Valentine suggested some minor changes of policy for the permanence of the British Rule and the well-being of India.

Compare the wealth and abundance of Sir Valentine Chirol's materials with the poverty and littleness of his conclusions. The truth is that he saw things through the medium of prejudice. His method of investigation was entirely faulty and unhistorical. He has collected

* Indian Unrest; Page 1. † Indian Unrest; Page 325.

§ Indian Unrest; Page 332.

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the strongest and the most "objectionable" passages from the "Extremist" newspapers all over the country and has sought to give them an imaginary unity of time, place and purpose. If an Indian Chirol will follow a similar method, ransack the files of Anglo-Indian papers and select such passages as Sir Valentine had done, he will be able to give a picture of Anglo-Indian mentality at which, the author of the "Indian Unrest" would stand aghast. Fortunately, Sir Valentine Chirol has lived to find that "Self-Government " for India is the goal of British ambition.The very ground on which he bases his conclusions is thus swept away and what remains is nothing but the manifestations of Tilak-phobia. The book sought to eternally discredit Mr. Tilak and his party in the eyes of England and prevent the Nationalists from raising their head again. Here, also, Sir Valentine failed and has lived to witness his failure. To-day he must be finding that the principles for which Mr. Tilak fought have been accepted by almost all his countrymen and if Britain cherishes any prejudice towards the National Party, —well, Brltain will regret the attitude, some day or other.

To counteract the insidious poison of Sir. Valentine Chirols' writings, Mr. Tilak, after having taken the best legal advice in England and India, filed a suit against the offending party for damages against libel and for an injunction to restrain publication of the defamatory matter. After a long series of preliminary proceedings, the case came for hearing before Mr. Justice Darling and a Special Jury on 29th January 1919. Sir John Simon, K.C., and Mr. E. F. Spence,

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appeared for the plaintiff and Sir Edward Carson, assisted by two others, defended Sir V. Chirol, the writer, and Messrs. Macmillan and Comapany, the Publishers of the "Indian Unrest."

Mr. Tilak complained that Sir V. Chirol had libelled him in six different ways. Though he had never started, nor had ever been a subscriber to any cow-protection society, he was charged with having started the organisation as a provocative to the Mahomedans. Though he had never organised gymnastic societies, he was accused of having done so with the object of developing the martial instincts of the people for the ultimate purpose of employing force. These gymnastic societies, have been also called "Juvenile bands of dacoits to swell the coffers of *Swaraj*." Further, the High Court judgment (1910) in the Tai Maharaj case was quoted by Sir. V. Chirol as being "extremely damaging to Tilak's private reputation as a man of honour or even of common honesty."

Most important of all were the libels in connection with the Rand-Ayerst and the Jackson murders :—

"What Tilak could do by secret agitation and by a rabid campaign in the Press to raise popular resentment to white-heat he did.................The inevitable consequences ensued. On June 27th, 1897........Mr. Rand........and Lieut. Ayerst............were shot down by a young *Chitpawan* Brahmin. No direct connection has been establishmed between the crime and Tilak." (Page 48—Indian Unrest).

"In reply to the Magistrate who asked him why he committed the murder, Kanhere said 'I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Rashtramat*,

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and the *Kal* and other newspaers. I think that by killing Sahibs we people can get justice. I never got injustice myself, nor did any one, I know of. I now regret killing Mr. Jackson. I killed a good man carelessly.'

"Can anything be more eloquent and convincing than the terrible pathos of this confession? The three papers named by Kanhere were Tilak's organs. It was no personal experience or knowledge of his that had driven Kanhere to his frenzied deed, but the slow, persistent poison dropped into his ear by the Tilak Press. Though it was Kanhere's hand that struck down 'a good man carelessly' was not Tilak rather than Kanhere, the real author of the murder? It was merely the story of the Poona murders of 1897 over again." (Page 62—Indian Unrest).

The opening speech of Sir John Simon occupied seven hours. The plaintiff was next called to the witness-box and examined by Mr. Spence. When the examination-in-chief was over, up jumped Sir Edward Carson to cross-examine Mr. Tilak. The Court was crowded to the utmost. An idea of the tussle between Sir Edward Carson, "the leader of Ulsterite rebels" and Mr. Tilak, the "the leader of Indian rebels" can be had from the following fragments of the latter's long and wearisome cross-examination which he stood extremely well."

"When did you last get out of prison"?—June, 1914."

"Have you taken any proceedings in India to vindicate your character"?—'No'.

"Why did you come all the way to England to vindicate your character"?—'Because, the book is read all over the Empire and a decision of an English Court

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would have greater weight and be more effective in stopping the circulation of the book.'

"Do you remember being sentenced to six years' transportation ?"—'Yes'.

"Do you remember what the Judge said in summing up ?"—'Yes'

Sir Edward Carson then read this passage in which the Judge referred to the articles in the *Kesari* :—

> "They are seething with sedition; they preach violence; they speak of murder with approval; and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs, not only meet with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb into India as if something had come to India for its good."

"Did the Judge say that ?"—'Yes'.

"Was that the reason why you took no proceedings in India to vindicate your character ?" 'No'.

"Can you point to any passage in Sir Valentine Chirol's book which is more severe than that ?"—'I complain of being associated with murder'.

The plaintiff was asked to read a passage in which one of the men who were concerned with the murder of Mr. Jackson in 1909 said his mind was influenced by a certain book. The plaintiff said that the book was reviewed in the *Kesari*. He did not write the review himself. The book was a life of Mazzini and a translation in Marathi was dedicated to him. Many people dedicated books to him without his knowledge.

"Do you see that the murderer says that it was by reading that book, that his mind was prepared for the murder ?" 'He may have said that'.

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"Do you think that he committed a murder?"—'I heard that he had committed a murder. I don't know. I was in jail'.

"Do you call it murder?"—'I should certainly call it murder.'

"Did you not advocate resistance to the law?"—'If you don't like a law, you must resist it in order to get it altered. The penalty for resistance is punishment. That is called Passive Resistancre'.

Sir Edward Carson read extracts from the plaintiff's newspaper *Kesari* and asked whether it was true that resistance to the Government was advocated.—'No; it was resistance to the Government Officials; I draw a distinction between them'.

"Government consists of Officials, doesn't it?"—A house consists of rooms but a room does not mean a house'. (Laughter).

"Was not Mr. Kingsford the man whom it was intended to kill, when two ladies with their coachman were murdered?"—'Yes, I believe so'.

Extracts were read to show that the plaintiff's newspaper *Kesari* had used language which was likely to produce such a result. The witness denied it. He added that the newspaper was not even printed in the language spoken by the people where the murders were done and his newspaper did not circulate in that part of India.

Sir Edward Carson read further extracts with a view to show that the witness's newspaper encouraged the use of the bomb to bring about alterations in the system and administration of Government. The witness denied the inference.

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" The *Times of India* has said that your newspaper brought about the murder of Mr. Rand." Hadn't it ?"—' Yes '.

" Why didn't you bring action against the newspaper ?"—' I went to Bombay for the purpose but I was arrested on the same day, so I couldn't do anything '.

" Why did you not take proceedings when you came out of prison ?"—' I did and received an apology from the paper '.

Sir Edward Carson read from a leading article in the *Kesari* dated June 21st, 1908, on which he relied partly to establish the plea of justification and asked the witness whether the article did not encourage the use of bombs. The witness denied this and said that the article merely pointed to the inevitable result of misgovernment. On Sir Edward Carson reading further extracts, the witness denied that these passages contained any incitement. He said that he was explaining the conditions under which bomb outrages were likely to occur. He was simply setting forth the sesequence of events and warning both the bomb-throwers and the officials of the danger of the situation. In course of his replies the witess illustrated his point by mentioning the situation in Ulster.

" Ulster can take care of itself. You won't gain anything by introducing personal matters."—' It is no more a personal matter than the case of Russia is '.

At a later stage replying to His Lordship the witness said there were some 200 races including castes in India professing five different religions. He did not want any one race or religion to be dominant. He wanted a democracy for all.

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His Lordship :—" Supposing there was an oppressed minority under *Swaraj*, would they be right in throwing bombs ?"—' No man has a right to throw bombs '.

" Was it your opinion that it was the oppression of the administration of Mr. Rand during the Plague in Poona that led to his murder ?"—' I think that the measures adopted and their harshness led to the murder '.

" Did you say in your newspaper that in the search of the houses, great tyranny was practised by the soldiers ?"—' I did '.

" Did you say that they entered the temple,s brought out the women from their houses, broke idols and burnt holy books ?"— 'I mentioned these facts. They are facts '.

" Was it your opinion that Mr. Rand was more than a tyrant ?"—' I said that his measures were tyrannical '.

" Did you say that he was guilty of callous cruelty ?" —' Yes.

" Yet you say that your writings had nothing to do with his murder ?"—' The facts, not my doctrines led to the murder '.

Later, Sir Edward Carson quoted a passage, which said that death cannot be avoided. He asked the meaning of that. The witness said that it was a quotation from a:religious book. It meant you are mortal.

Mr. Justice Darling :—" What was the best thing Shivaji ever did ?"—' He founded the Hindu Empire '.

" Did he do it by killing Afzulkhan ?"—' That was one of the acts '.

" Could he have done it without ?"—' I can't say

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that. Supposing we have a festival of Cromwell here, that does not mean we go on killing kings of England '.

Turning to the report of a speech delivered by Mr. Tilak at the Shivaji festival in 1897, Sir Edward Carson asked the witness what he meant by saying that great men are above the common principles of morality. The witness said that every day morality could not be applied to the superman.

" Do you apply that doctrine to the Kaiser ?"—' No. He was moved by an ambition to rule the whole world, which was wrong '.

Asked to explain why an article in the form of an exhortation by Shivaji, had the Bhavani sword-mark appended to it, the witness said Shivaji could not write and was accustomed to make his mark in the form of a sword.

His Lordship :—" It appears to have been his trade-mark."

In reply to a question from Sir Edward Carson witness said that he advocated in his paper that children should be taught Swadeshi '.

" Did you advocate that children should burn everything ?"—' There was a bonfire and I said " You had better commence your vow by sacrificing something "

" Was this to promote Anti-British feeling ?"—' No '.

Mr. Justice Darling :—" Were the things burnt, things which you could have produced in India ?"—' Yes, they were produced on a large scale '.

" Did you do this to promote home industries ?" ' Yes, a kind of protection for home industries '.

" Was there anything political in it ?"—' Not until 1905 '.

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"Why was it made political?"—'To bring pressure on the British Government'.

Sir Edward Carson then referred to education in Swadeshi and the witness said that the Governor-General declared on June 14th, 1910, that one of the Schools was an unlawful institution.

"Was that kept by a friend of yours?"—'An acquaintance'.

"Was that man convicted afterwards?"—'Yes, of sedition'.

"Is he still a friend of yours?"—'He is still an acquaintance'.

"Most of your friends seem to have been convicted"—'No; there are still some, who have not been'.

Sir Edward Carson then referred to the murder of Mr. Jackson and asked whether some men (whose names quoted) were friends of the witness. Counsel inquired whether one man was still in his employment.

The witness:—'I think he is. I don't know. I am here'.

"Don't be ashamed of him." —'I am not ashamed of him. When members, who have been convicted sit in Parliament, why should I be ashamed?'—(Laughter).

In opening the case for the defendants, Sir Edward Carson delivered an address which was conceived in bad taste. "A man who had been twice convicted of sedition,--what character had he to vindicate?" asked Sir Edward Carson. He said that the case must be considered as a whole. The main charges made by Sir V. Chirol against Mr. Tilak referred to the murders of Messrs. Rand and Jackson. If the defendant was right in saying that these were the results of the plaintiff's

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teachings, what became of the rest of the case? During the Plague at Poona, Mr. Rand had to risk his life daily on behalf of the afflicted natives. His reward was that he met his death at the hands of an assassin and it was a fair inference that the murder was attributable to Mr. Tilak's utterances in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. He (Mr. Tilak) denounced Mr. Rand as a "sullen, suspicious tyrant", and even made the horrible accusation that Mr. Rand deliberately segregated people who were not suffering from Plague, in order to keep up the figures. British soldiers, who were risking their lives at 1*s*. a day, as volunteer sanitary workers, were held up as inhuman beings who would take advantage of the Plague to commit petty thefts and break idols. The whole tenor of Mr. Tilak's article could be summarized thus:—"Murder is right in certain circumstances. It can be apologised for. Shivaji was right in murdering Afzulkhan, because Afzulkhan was an oppressor. So long as we don't murder from selfish motives, we are justified. Have we no Shivaji now? Murder in such circumstances is no murder." Is it a wonder that a murder ensued?

Sir Edward Carson then rapidly touched the remaining four libels which, he said were trifles as compared to Tilak's authorship of the murders of Rand and Jackson.

Sir John Simon in summing up the case said that the question was not whether the plaintiff was a person who, had, time and again, published seditious articles, or whether his strong, violent and unrestrained criticism of Government Officers was justified, nor was it the question whether Mr. Tilak had the friendship of Paranjpye and others. The question was whether Sir

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V. Chirol's book contained matter defamatory to the plaintiff. In dealing with the Rand and Jackson murders, Sir Edward Carson had made some strange omissions. Within a month of Mr. Rand's murder, Mr. Tilak, who according to Sir V. Chirol was the real author of the murder was prosecuted at Poona, not on any charge connected with the murder, but a charge of sedition, a striking fact, for the authorities had every means of knowing how far Mr. Tilak's writings were to blame. At that trial the Advocate-General and the Judge, both expressly disclaimed the idea of any connection between the articles and the murder. Secondly in the very month, in which the murder was committed, Lord Sandhurst had confirmed Mr. Tilak's election to the Legislative Council. Again when asked by Sir Edward Carson if he had ever taken proceedings against the *Times of India*, Mr. Tilak said he had—much to the discomfiture of the defendant. He took proceedings in Bombay and the *Times of India* came to the court and not only apologized but did what was very rare in libel actions—it went out of its way to give an assurance that the apology was genuine. Regarding the murder of Mr. Jackson, not a single denunciation of Mr. Jackson by Mr. Tilak was produced. The confession of a wretched boy caught after the crime was not the best evidence of the truth of the matters concerned. Regarding the remaining four libels, not a scrap of evidence had been given in the case. In conclusion he said that no matters of colour or race or creed or religion should come in the way and that the Jury should give Mr. Tilak unfailing justice even if the heavens should fall. Mr. Justice Darling then summed up the

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case. He said that it was urged that Mr. Tilak was guilty only of sedition, but what was worse than sedition but its bedfellow, high treason? How long a step was it from articles " seething with sedition " to the overt act which was necessary to constitute high treason? Dealing with the murder of Mr. Rand, His Lordship said Mr. Tilak reminded him of the story in Æsop of the enemy trumpeter who begged the soldier to spare him on the ground that he was a non-combatant. The soldier refused on the ground that without the trumpeter's summons the enemy soldiers would not have advanced. Turning to the case of Mr. Jackson His Lordship said that it was true that he (Mr. Tilak) had not singled out Mr. Jackson as he had singled out Mr. Rand for denunciation, but it was enough that he had created the atmosphere for the crime by stirring up hatred of officials generally. Was it unjust to say that he was the real author of the crime just as Fagin was the real author of the crimes committed by his pupils? Concluding His Lordship said that he did not think that he had ever tried a more serious case having regard to its possible public consequences. He would not submit the alleged libel to the Jury in snippets but as a whole, as it has been pleaded. If they found that in any part of it, the defendants had failed to make good their plea of justification, they could find for the plaintiff and award damages accordingly.

The Jury retired at 5-50P.M. (February 21st 1919, the eleventh day of the proceedings) and after a deliberation of 25 minutes returned a verdict for the defendants. Judgment was entered accordingly with costs.

As one distinguished writer said " No Indian in Bri-

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tain was more surprised at the verdict of the jury than Mr. Tilak himself!" With his inborn faith in British Justice and in the truth and righteousness of his cause, he had hoped—a hope supported by the best legal advice available—to prove to the British Democracy how the lofty, lawabiding patriotism of the Nationalist Party had been grossly perverted to mean an illicit and unholy alliance with the terrorist and the anarchist. Standing on the crest of this victory he had hoped to explain to the British Democracy the tenets of the advanced political party in India. All these hopes were dashed to the ground. It was not for nothing that Sir Valentine had declared through his Counsel that he "could have avoided the whole of this litigation by an apology and by a subscription to the Indian War Relief Fund, but, in the interests of the Empire he felt that, to make an apology under the circumstances of this case or to withdraw or retract what he had deliberately stated and published would have been a disaster of the very gravest kind as regards the Government of India." The *Morning Post*, might ridicule Mr. Tilak for his "singular lack of humour" in setting out to prove "the tyranny of a nation by pursuing one of its own members through its own courts." Mr. Tilak's opponents have stigmatised this as "inconceivable folly" and even some of his friends have called it a 'blunder'. It is easy to be wise after the event. Mr. Tilak never required his character to be "whitewashed" so far as Indians were concerned. It was to cure the British Democracy of the "slow and persistent poison" which had been at work against his political party, that he dared mortgage all

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his estate and in the evening of his life, with tremendous odds manifestly against him, fight with an opponent basking in the sunshine of the Imperial Government. Even this 'blunder' was creditable to him, in that it showed his unflinching faith in the British Justice; and it is doubtful whether the victory of Sir Valentine Chirol has really helped the Government when this victory has been followed by the loss of faith in British Justice, in the minds of thousands and thousands of Indians, whose confidence in the truth and justice of Mr. Tilak's cause was instinctive. When the greatest Indian of the century was described before the highest Judicial Tribunal of the Empire as one whose reputation was not worth the smallest coin in existence, when every kind of abusive epithet was hurled at his devoted head with a levity truly disgusting, need we wonder if people commenced to believe that even British Justice is capricious and uncertain? Mr. Tilak's financial embarrassments—amounting to nearly three lakhs of rupees—were, within a few weeks removed by the love and loyalty of his friends and followers, but the rude shock which India's faith in the "British Justice" has received, does not angur well for the future.

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CHAPTER XIX

"RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION"

Not what thou and I have promised to each other but what the balance of our forces can make us perform to each other: that, in so sinful a world as ours, is the thing to be counted upon.

Thomas Carlyle.

WHEN Mr. Montague asked Mr. Tilak what he would do in case the reforms fell short of his expectations, Mr. Tilak readily replied "I would accept what is given and fight for more." Being a strategist and not a mere idealist, Mr. Tilak knew full well how to make use of the smallest concessions. That is why, when the Montague-Chelmsford report was out,he did not run into hysterics over it. He never called for its unqualified rejection. From the very beginning his criticism was strong but constructive and he refused to lend the weight of his support to that small party in the Congress which in July and August, 1918, talked of a summary refusal of the 'little' Mont-ford gift. It was not, therefore, likely, that Mr. Tilak would, in November 1919 reject those Reforms which nearly two years back he had decided to accept for a time. When he returned to India in November 1919 after advocating the Congress demands before the British Democracy, he had already matured in his mind a plan of operations, which he thought, would be the shortest cut to Home Rule.

When in England, Mr. Tilak had been deeply impres

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sed with the completeness with which Sinn Feiners had carried the General Election of 1918. The Sinn Feiners' refusal to take their seats in the Parliament, their efforts to organize a Government of their own, strongly appealed to him. Of course, he saw the limitations under which they were working and the difference between the conditions in Ireland and those in India. An adoption of the peaceful portions of the tactics of the Sinn Feiners, in the more favourable circumstances of India, with her large size, her distance from England and her countless millions, would, he was convinced bring greater pressure on our rulers, and compel them, in spite of their hesitation and caution, to revise the Government of India Act in the shortest time possible. Mr. Tilak had no mind to allow things to drift or leave them for an uncertain futurity to decide. "Now and here" the question must be satisfactorily and finally solved. No tinkering, no tardy instalments, no humiliating examinations could be tolerated.

The immediate task before him, on his return from London, was, so to organise public opinion as to give a definite verdict on the Government of India Act. There was barely one month. He consulted his friends and associates in other parts of India. Very little danger of opposition was anticipated. The little contentment or rejoicing that existed was to be found only in the Moderate circles. The redoubtable Mrs. Besant was, of course, expected to put up a strong fight; but she was working hopelessly against the tremendous force of the national sentiment and was bound to be worsted in the fray. Soon after the passing of the Government of India Act, was issued the Royal Procla-

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mation, so singularly noble in sentiment, so eloquent in style. It was calculated to rouse the imagination and evoke the gratitude of India. No doubt, Mr. Montague meant well by India and his appeal had the ring of sincerity. But the days of miracles are gone and Mr. Tilak knew full well that the magic wand of the Royal Proclamation would not, all of a sudden, transform the mentality of the governing class of India. He, therefore, publicly expressed his gratitude for the Royal message and promised *responsive* co-operation.

On the saintly and chivalrous mind of Mahatma Gandhi, the Royal Proclamation had a far different effect. He believed the message to be a distinct departure from the narrow lines of policy hitherto laid down and calculated to usher a new era in the national life of India. He. therefore, wanted to welcome the message without any reservations. He was strongly supported by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

At Amritsar, where the Congress met, a triangular fight was expected. There was enough courage or enthusiasm at the meeting. The question that occured to a thoughtful mind was "Would there be the necessary amount of tact, shrewdness and foresight which the occassion demanded?" Mr. Gandhi's presence and arguments infused moral sublimity into the proceedings as was seen by the Resolution which condemned the excesses (April 1919)of the infuriated mobs in the Punjab and other places. The question was whether the Congress would rise to the same height of statesmanship as it did to that of moral sublimity. What should be the wording of the resolution about the Reforms?

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Mrs. Besant's proposal, had it been passed, would have emphasized our expression of gratitude at the expense of our dignity. Mr. Gandhi's resolution was graceful without being emphatically dignified. Mr. Tilak's resolution was a unique combination of grace with dignity, mellowed by a reasonable expression of gratitude. It was not a question merely of grace or gratitude. The Resolution, Mr. Tilak said, ought not to tie our hands. We must emphatically state that we are fit for an immediate establishment of Home Rule. We must emphatically state that we are not satisfied with what has been given. We must fully reserve our right to carry on a vigorous agitation for a very early revision of the Government of India Act. We must carry on our propaganda in other parts of the world and convince the different nations of the legitimacy of our demands. If the Resolution is too complimentary, if it talks too much of gratitude and satisfaction, how shall we, say next year, appeal to the British Democracy, to revise the Act? This, in brief, was Mr. Tilak's reasoning. In the draft Resolution " Mr. Das reiterated the demands of the Delhi Congress and declared that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatifactory and disappointing. Mr. Gandhi's argument was that those who labelled the Reforms Act as disappointing could not be expected to use the same for the early establishment of Responsible Government in India. Disappointment and work could not go hand in hand. He appealed to Mr. Tilak, the commentator of the Gita, to solve the riddle and have no mental reservations towards those in England who were well-disposed towards India. Mr. Tilak replied that disappointment should not be

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the reason for keeping oneself aloof from or boycotting the Reforms Act ; nay, the Gita enjoins us to accept the inevitable and work under distressing circumstances with a clear sense of duty. After a lively discussion lasting for nearly five hours in the open sessions, Messrs. Gandhi, Das, Tilak, Pal, Malaviya come to a compromise " and the Resolution concluded declaring that India should work the Govermnet of India Act so as to secure the early establishment of full responsible government.

In supporting the Resolution, Mr. Tilak made an excellent speech. He concluded it in the following significant and statesmanlike words :—

" We want now clearly to declare, not only here but to the whole world that we are not satisfied with the Act. We want to continue our agitation. We want to utilize it to our best advantage and continue to demand more and we want the rest of the world to know that this is the exact state of things. Do not mislead the civilized nations of Europe. Take care of that. Do not be too generous, too humane to accept with fulsome glee what little has been thrown to you now."

The fierce controversies at the Amritsar Congress threw Mrs. Besant into an unnatural alliance with the Moderates ; and the next few months are thick with controversial dust. It is really painful to see the great lady trying to harp on the innocent statement of Mr. Tilak " Diplomacy must be met with diplomacy." Mrs. Besant complained of being used as a tool by Mr. Tilak, called him a menance to India and reported him as having said to a prominent member of the Moderate Party " I deliberately misrepresent the Moderates; that is

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Politics." All this was probably the result of her disappointment and discomfiture at Delhi (1918) and at Amritsar (1919). Her conduct in England was severely criticised by Messrs. Khaparde and Patel and her attempts to persuade Labour leaders not to move Congress amendments were brought to light. This exasperated her beyond all measure and she appealed to the All-India Congress Committee to disassociate itself from the utterances of Messrs. Patel and Khaparde. This appeal was made when Mr. Patel had already sailed for England. So Mr. Tilak had to take the sword in his behalf and do an unpleasant duty. It is well to cast a veil over all these controversies; for nothing pained Mr. Tilak more than the attitude of Mrs. Besant, who, he always held, was by temperament never a moderate. He had publicly appealed to her (March 1920), in the best interests of the country to co-operate with the Congress Party. But God had willed it that her path should differ from that of the Congress leaders.

The Moderate Party, with its age-long opposition to Mr. Tilak's principles and personality was led in Maharashtra by the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye, who, with true iconoclastic fervour, started his new campaign against the Nationalists by striking at their idol. When, therefore, an address was proposed to be given at Poona to Mr. Tilak on his return from England (November 1919), Mr. Paranjpye opposed it by publishing " a catalogue of Mr. Tilak's sins of commission and omission." The attack failed ; the address was duly given and though Mr. Parajpye was challenged to personally lead the opposition at the public meeting, he wavered at the last moment and remained absent.

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The Moderates realized, though a little late that opposition to an address to Mr. Tilak would bring both defeat and bad repute; their chivalry and decency would be questioned. But the sentimental cry of simultaneous compulsory education to the boys and girls of Poona was catching. It did not matter that the taxable capacity of the Poona City Municipality did not allow an additional annual burden of Rs. 86,500. It did not matter that even in Western countries, when on economical grounds a choice had to be made, the compulsory education of boys usually preceded that of the girls. It did not even matter that Mr. Gokhale, the great apostle of moderation wanted to give free and compulsory education to boys first and to girls afterwards. The Moderates simply wanted to enjoy a little fun at the expense of the Nationalists who were in a majority in the City Municipality. The law demanded that the opposition must not exceed one-third of the total number of members. Taking advantage of this provision, the Moderates, " in defiance of precedence, prudence, practical wisdom and financial knowledge " of their own city were willing to see the education of a large number of boys neglected, because their opponents, the Nationalists could not guarantee the immediate education of *all* the girls in the city on account of financial difficulties.

The Moderates' concern for the free and compulsory education of girls at Poona was equalled by their keen desire for the free and unrestricted admission of peasant delegates to the Poona District Conference held at Junnar early in March (1920). Knowing that they would be in a minority at the Conference, the Moderates,

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who at their Conferences held at Bombay and Calcutta, had never thought of this concession, began to harp on this favourite string. Without even a week's notice to the Reception Committee, they wanted to have a number of "Peasant Delegates", secretly pledged to vote for them. But the Committee allowed only five "Peasant Delegates" to each Taluka. The result is curious. Not even five peasant delegates repsonded to the call and the Conference was a signal triumph of Mr. Tilak and his party.

Through the thick clouds of all these controversies, Mr. Tilak was hacking his path to the goal. An old acquaintance of the unrepentent Indian bureaucracy, he clearly knew, what even a less experienced man has observed that we "are dealing with the most astute and diplomatic and clever set of politicians in the world and that they could undo what the Secretary of State has done." He had noted how tardily the Bureaucracy had responded to the gracious Royal Proclamtion and how incomplete was the amnesty to political prisoners. He had also noted how the Congress party was rigorously excluded from the Advisory Committee on Rules under the Government of India Act. But the position he had taken from the beginning was one of *responsive* co-operation and he was not required to change it. In a speech at Bombay he said :—

> "We are prepared to co-operate; but if there is nothing to co-operate, we shall not. * * His Majesty has asked the people and the authorities to co-operate with each other. * * * * It is almost a scandal to say that Indians are not prepared to co-operate for the sake of India; obey-

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> ing His Majesty means in India loyalty to bureaucracy first and to people afterwards. * * Let the authorities declare in what ways they are prepared to co-operate with us and we can *assure* them that, if they co-operate with us, we can, with them. Co-operation is mutual..................."

Meanwhile, events of far greater import than party squabbles or recriminations were happening with shocking rapidity. The imposition of an unjust, inequitable, humiliating and crushing peace on Turkey, in defiance of repeated pledges, in defiance of the feelings of Indian Moslems set aflame the Islamic mind in this country. The recklessness with which the sacredness of pledges was disregarded produced the deepest impression on the mind of Mahatma Gandhi and his moral nature revolted against an order of things which rendered possible such brutal callousness. The Privy Council Judgment in the Amritsar case dealt " a severe blow to our constitutional rights, investing the Viceroy with almost autocratic power of ordinance-making." It showed how " the judgments even of the highest tribunals are not unaffected by political considerations." The belated publication of the belated report of the belated Hunter Commission aggravated the situation by showing how the majority of the Commissioners considered cold-blooded murders to be mere " grave errors " and " unfortunate " or " injudicious " acts. The Viceroy condoning the sins of the notorious Satrap of the Punjab, the Secretary of State applauding Lord Chelmsford, the House of Lords in love with General Dyer,—all this was too much even for the most

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forgiving of all mortals ! As gentle as a lamb, as forgiving as an angel, Mahatma Gandhi could not yet endure the flagrant injustice of the Simla autocrats; and he determined to unsheathe the sword of non-co-operaton with the ultimate object of bringing round the up-holders of this unrighteous policy.

Mr. Tilak cordially welcomed the rise of this luminary in the firmament of Indian Politics; and as regards non-co-operation, Mr. Tilak was a non-co-operator since the very beginning of his career. He had set his back on Government service and had not cared to practise as a pleader in the Government courts; he had given eleven years of his life to the attempt of nationalizing education and had left the Deccan Education Society when he found his task impossible. So far, therefore, as the first stage of Mahatma Gandhi's programme went, Mr. Tilak had put into practice most of the items included therein. As regards the remaining three stages, Mr. Tilak would never have shirked advocating them had he found it necessary in the circumstances of the country. There was only one item to which he was strongly opposed, and that was the boycott of the Councils. This he considered suicidal. He could not be suspected of being specially enamoured of the Councils as most of the prestige which he commanded was due, not to his short membership of the Bombay Legislative Council but to his work outside the Council. Besides, owing to age and loss of vigour he had almost decided not to stand for election. He was however emphatically of opinion that in the agitation to be started for a very early revision of the Government of India Act, it was necessary to capture most of the seats in the Coun-

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cils. He differed from Mahatma Gandhi's opinion that the Councils are a snare and that there is an insidious poison which invariably affects its members. Mr. Tilak admitted that this was true when we were in a substantial minority in the Councils but he held that no danger need be anticipated when the Nationalists would enter the Councils not necessarily to co-operate. The most aggressive and effective form of non-co-operation would be non-co-operation within the Councils and on this he had set his heart.

That is why at the Sholapur Provincial Conference (April 2nd, 3rd and 4th), he laboured to carry a resolution which called upon the Congress Committees in particular and the public in general to " accept the lead given by the Amritsar Congress, in the matter of the working of the Reforms Act, and support, at the ensuing Council elections, the candidature of persons whose allegiance to the Congress is beyond all question." The bewitching cry of " elect the best men " was raised by the minority. Mr. Tilak agreed ; but explained that the men to be elected must be *best for the purpose in view*, namely the working of the Reforms Act so as to attain full Responsible Government within the shortest time possible. He was in no sympathy with *best* men who would merely like to work the act without this particular end in view. If we really went in for best men, why, in the bureaucratic fold, many capable persons might be found; but they were not wanted, nor the Moderates, if they did not respect the Amritsar Resolution. This was too much for the Moderates, who had tried their best to attend the Conference in large numbers, though in trying to secure numbers, they had to

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leave aside principles and get elected through "the Deccan Sabha of Poona, hundreds of men of Sholapur, as Poona Delegates including known minors, and people of doubtful credentials and suspicious characters." Mrs. Besant had come all the way from Madras to get the Amritsar judgment reversed ; she moved an amendment which would have enabled the Moderates to stand for election in the name of the Congress and through the help of the Congress ogencies. But the amendment was defeated by an over-whelming majority.

Within a fortnight after the close of the Sholapur Conference, Mr. Tilak published the manifesto of the "Congress Democratic Party." Though he published this document over his signature, still he had consulted most of the Nationalist leaders in Western India, and it was merely to save valuable time that he thought it desirable to publish it on his individual responsibility. Those who know that Mr. Tilak wanted to place the manifesto for approval before the Special Congress at Calcutta, will not blame him for having acted *autocratically* in the name of the Congress *Democratic* Party. The Manifesto is a comprehensive document, by no means exhaustive; it lays down the general policy of the advanced political party. The Manifesto declares :—

> "This Party proposes to work the Montague Reforms Act for all it is worth, and for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government; and for this purpose it will, without hesitation, offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will."

What was the object of issuing this Manifesto ? Some

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unfriendly critics think that Mr. Tilak was pressed—nobody knows, by whom—to declare his programme and was required to show some constructive work as his name was associated with mere destruction. Others hold that it was a set off against Mahatma Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation published about this time. There are persons who seek to justify Mr. Tilak's Manifesto by pointing out that the publication of the Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto was followed by the publication of at least half a dozen similar documents from different groups of politicians in India. The truth is that the manifesto of Mr. Tilak forms only a link in the work of organisation required for carrying the Councils elections, on which Mr. Tilak had set his heart. The first step was, of course, the Amritsar Resolution. The Sholapur Conference which followed, developed the Amritsar Resolution, and specified the persons eligible for election under the Congress banner. The Manifesto followed, pointing out at length, the scope of the work of the Congress Party. The fourth step was taken when at the Annual Conference of the Indian Home Rule League, the services of the League were placed at the disposal of persons belonging to the Congress Democratic Party and desirous of standing as candidates for Councils. Mr. Tilak's next idea was to get the Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto approved of by the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta. He intended to make this Congress concentrate upon the elections in November 1920 ; and then, after having established an over-whelming majority in the Councils, he intended at Nagpur to give an ultimatum to the Bureaucracy. Had the Bureaucracy failed to respond,

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the Nationalists' majority would have absented itself from the councils or taken to other forms of opposition which would have brought the Bureaucracy to their knees.

It should be noted that this programme was not at all inconsistent with the acceptance of Mahatma Gandhi's. Indeed, it seems certain that both the Mahatma and the Lokamanya would have fused their programmes into one. Had Mr. Tilak lived, the *whole* of Mr. Gandhi's programme and not merely its first step, would, very probably, have been accepted by the Calcutta Congress, *with the proviso*, that the Councils were not to be boycotted. The Nation would thus have been able to wage a battle royal with the Bureaucracy—within and outside the councils, the one helping the progress of the other; and the sad spectacle of the Bureaucracy trying to crush the Non-co-operators with the aid of the Moderates in the Councils, would never have been seen. Had repression come, it would have appeared hideous in all its nakedness.

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CHAPTER XX

THE END

Mr. Tilak is dead! Long live Mr. Tilak!

The Tribune.

THE situation which Mr. Tilak occupied towards the middle of 1920 was the most enviable any public man has occupied in India. He was the most successful and the most longlived of the band of self-sacrificing workers who started the New English School (1880), the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* (1881). His opponents—Ranade, Telang, Mehta and Gokhale—were gathered to their fathers before the substantial achievement of their labours. He alone represented, not merely the youngest but the oldest generation living. Starting his life as an 'opponent of Social Reform' he lived to count the staunchest reformers among his lieutenants. The branded 'enemy of the Mahomedans' was the ambassador of Hindu-Moslem unity at Lucknow and his active co-operation was sought by and promised to the leaders of the Khilafat movement. The slogan of *Swaraj*, issuing from his pen in 1895 was echoed by the National Congress of 1906 and the Government of India Act of 1919. His no-rent campaign of 1896 forms one of the planks of the Non-co-operation programme. 'The wrecker of the Congress' was its greatest bulwark and chosen President. Dreaded by the Government, hated by Anglo-Indians, feared by the Moderates, he was

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the idol of the country, the living embodiment of all its aspirations. Behind him lay the memories of an uneven and almost single-handed struggle extending over forty years. Ahead, there was a struggle still, but a struggle where victory was certain, and the sinews of war quite abundant. He was not only the Moses but the Joshua of the Promised Land. He had won his Austerlitz at Amritsar, and the future struggle, grim as it promised to be, was in a sense far easier than the one in which he was engaged ever since his entry into the public life.

But,—alas! the end was approaching. Ever since his return from Amritsar, a sense of inexplicable fatigue frequently haunted him. He would occasionally talk of retiring from active life. Politics meant strain, physical and mental and he did not feel himself up to it. This was surely the whispering of Death.

After his sickly boyhood, Mr. Tilak enjoyed many years of exuberant health and energy. Rarely, if ever, he was ill. His digestion was exceptionally nice. He had the glut of a giant for thought or action. His powers of endurance were wonderful. His sleep was short and sound and very often he could dispense with it altogether. After a busy day, he usually read far into the night and was up at the usual time. His reading, deep and varied, lasting at a stretch for hours together, was never known to weary him.

With the incarceration of 1897, there came a change. He lost enormously in weight. His health was pulled down; his digestion was enfeebled. After his release he spent a few months at Sinhgad in rest and in the improvement of his health. To a certain extent it

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did improve. But he never fully recovered from the blow.

Then came diabetes, the companion of the English-educated in India. Evidently it was the gift of the Yeravda jail and it cast slight shadows of old age on his person.

For the last fifteen years of his life, this fell disease was his companion. Bravely did Mr. Tilak fight with it and so far was he successful that the disease did not torment him with all its virulence. It was, however, still there, working insidiously, and slowly and silently sapping his strength! He held the fell disease in his grip; the disease too, did not loosen its hold.

Having studied all the existing medical literature on the subject, he fixed a regimen for himself to which he adhered with military rigour. When it was hot, he usually lived at Sinhgad. Periods of hard work were carefully followed by rest. When he rested, he kept no books, he read no papers. He left instructions at Poona regarding the disposal of correspondence. Only the most important matters—private or public—whose execution could not be delayed and particularly those which required his instructions, were reported to him. His morning walk, occasionally in the company of some obscure villager, lasted for three or four hours and was followed by an hour's plunge. This completed the day's exercise.

His capacity to withdraw his mind from work, stood him in good stead. Always optimistic, he never allowed worries, small or great, to trouble him. His self-control was wonderful and helped him considerably in improving his health. Storm after storm swept past him,

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leaving him, calm and self-possessed. His private life, lived in the full blaze of publicity, was a tower of strength to him ;for virtue is the greatest tonic.

Call it the peace of a philosopher, the faith of the hero, the light-heartedness of a child or the recklessness of a soldier, his mental equanimity was the secret of his health. The dread uncertainties of our public life explain to a great extent why many a public worker dies young. To work with despair and defeat writ large on the wall is, indeed, a trial ; and to this trial our spirited workers are being put these many years. The longevity of a Dr. Bahandarkar, may not cause wonder ; but the comparative longevity, which Mr. Tilak reached, surprises those who consider his mental sufferings, his extraordinary brain-work and the vicissitudes of his life.

Chiplonker died in 1882, Apte in 1892, Agarkar, Kelkar, and Namjoshi in 1895, all in the prime of life. At one time Mr. Tilak thought that he too, would be summoned away early. Providence, however, had reserved for him a longer career, to be written in letters of gold ; and yet could he not have been spared a little more ?

The organization of the Congress Democratic Party, the welding of Mr. Gandhi's programme with his own. an ultimatum to the Bureaucracy, a vigorous foreign propaganda, these were the thoughts that occupied his waking and sleeping hours in the last month (July 1920) of his life. In the course of this month, he had severe attacks of malaria. However, he completely recovered, went to Bombay for his last fight in the Tai Maharaj case, triumphed over his enemies and had begun to think of recuperating his strength when

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an evening motor-drive brought him a chill which soon developed into high fever. None, however, suspected the worst and congratulatory anniversary meetings were held (23rd July) in Bombay and elsewhere.

The fever, brought by the chill, subsided only to return soon. From Monday night (26th July), "his fever took a decidedly serious turn and it was found that the base of his right lung was affected and the fever developed signs of pneumonia. The whole of Tuesday was a day of anxiety. There was no brain-complication and his consciousness was unimpaired." Still the situation was critical and his friends and relatives gathered to wait upon him. He chaffed his son upon having run up to Bombay on this flimsy pretence and his daughters upon being rather too fond of their parents' home. He disdained to leave any instructions regarding his affairs, though pressed to do so. "I am not going to die, these five years," he said "be sure of that." Wednesday morning, the temperature was normal and the pulse regular. This was a happy sign. But in the afternoon "again he got fever and again his heart began to show signs of weakness. He lost all consciousness and became delirious. He continued more or less in the same state during the whole of Wednesday and Thursday. On Wednesday, there was a complication of the stomach which began to be distended. With great difficulty, the doctors led him out of the crisis. On Thursday at about 5 P.M., he had an attack of *angina pectoris* which threatened to be serious and fatal but, thanks to the timely efforts of the doctors, he was pulled out of it. He had similar attacks, three times afterwards, but they were weak in intensity. On

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Friday and the whole of Saturday, he continued in the same unconscious state of mind with uncertain and irregular pulse and a weak heart. Suddenly at 10-30 P.M., his heart began to show signs of exhaustion and his breathing became hard, and at last at 12-50 A.M., August 1st, 1920, the cruel hand of Death snatched him away."

Anxious messages, distinguished callers, large, unmanageable crowds testified to the love and devotion he inspired. During the sad week, the hearts of all Indians, alternating with hopes and fears, must have gone up to the Almighty in silent or vocal prayer. But the hopes were dashed to the ground and the worst fears proved true, when on August 1st, the news of his demise was flashed all over the country!

What a pity that he left us no parting message! True, his whole life was one long message, a source of inspiration to all. When his feeble body was struggling with his departing soul, even then, he thought, not of home and family, but of his God and his country. In the earlier stages of his unconsciousness, when a copy of the *Gita* was shown to him, he uttered his favourite verses :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदाऽऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

"Whenever virtue subsides and vice prevails I come down to protect the good, to destroy the wicked and to establish *Dharma*." (*Gita*. Chapter 4, Verses 7 & 8).

These memorable words of Lord Krishna, uttered by

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Mr. Tilak in his unconscious state, reveal the background of his mind. He braved the terrors of gaol-life, he could live down all obloquy, persecution and misrepresentation on the strength of this Faith. All the political battles fought by him were not waged for any earthly reward but from a high sense of duty, based on an unshakable faith that God was working through him. During all the storms of his life, he never felt weak or pessimistic because he knew that he was a mere pawn employed by that Divinity which presided over the destinies of India. A Tilak may come and go ; but His work would never wait ; and when the ground is sufficiently prepared, He shall come down to establish the reign of Peace and Goodness.

Mr. Tilak's scattered and subdued utterances in delirium bespeak his love of the country. He frequently referred to the Calcutta Congress and asked "Has the *Special* been arranged ?" "Have you wired to Mr. Patel ?" Then there was the Punjab wrong to which he occasionally referred. Sometimes, he would get excited and talk wildly. In an outburst of passion he once said "500 rupees to the editor; plus motor-allowance ! What will these lord-lings do for the country ?" On the 28th, he frequently talked of 1818 "1818—1918—one hundred years—what a life of servitude !" The last important words, reported to have been uttered by him on July 29th at 1 P.M., were "unless *Swaraj* is achieved,—India shall not prosper. It is required for our very existence !"

The funeral of the Lokamanya was as memorable as his life. It has been thus graphically described by a contemporary :—

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" It was one o'clock at midnight. All round was peace and calmness. There was a little drizzle of rain and men, not knowing the disaster that was to overtake them on the morning of the next day, were having a sound and sweet sleep. But the mysterious power, which rules the world was wide awake, and stealing a march on the subconscious man, carried away one of the most honoured, respected and beloved of the people . . . . (When morning broke, people found that) the vigilant watchman of India's cause had disappeared from their midst. . . . The news of his death gave a shock to the people, it stunned them, they looked at each other with blank eyes and they knew not what to do.

" Never before in the history of Bombay, was such a scene of universal grief witnessed. People had begun to flock near Sirdar Griha from 7 in the morning and by 8A.M., there was no room for anybody to go up to catch his last sight. The labourer had left the mill, the Marwari his account-book, the Bania his purse and every man and woman was out to see the last of their beloved leader. Musalmans, Parsees, Christians deserted their homes to pay their respects to a man, who had sacrificed his all at the altar of the country and suffered heavily for bravely defending her cause. In his lifetime, Mr. Tilak was the recipient of many popular demonstrations of good-will but the triumphal march of of dead Tilak through the streets on August 1st, 1920 was more magnificent than any during his life-time.

" The body of Lokamanya Tilak was brought out and put on the balcony so that it could be witnessed by the eager and expectant crowds. The crowd increased at

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every moment and it grew so tremendous that although the funeral procession was timed to start at 1 P.M., it could not be started till 2 P.M. The procession was about a mile and a half and at a very conservative estimate, about two lakhs of men took part in it.

"In the funeral procession were seen Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Jamnadas, Mr. Banker, and many other prominent citizens of Bombay. Two special trains from Poona brought a number of Mr. Tilak's friends and devoted followers. They claimed that Mr. Tilak's body should be cremated at Poona. The people of Bombay insisted on getting the honour to themselves and in the end they won and cremated him, by special arrangements, on the sands of the Back Bay. His body was seated in a palanquin and the pall-bearers included Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and many others. On the route, the procession had to stop at innumerable places, because a number of people came out to offer flowers. At every step, most enthusiastic ovations were received.

"The body was gently placed on a pyre of sandalwood, so lovingly and liberally supplies by the Parsi traders; and at sun-down, the last earthly remains of the Sun of Maharashtra were reduced to ashes!"

The unexpected death of a personality of the magnitude of Lokamanya Tilak united, for a time, all parties, and all India mourned for the eternal loss of her great son. Even the Anglo-Indian Press, taken as a whole, expressed appreciation of their life-long opponent. Only the Government of Bombay refused to shed tears with the nation; and His Excellency Sir George Lloyd orfeited a precious opportunity of winning the hearts

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of the people by a tactful concession to the sentiments of 17 non-official members of the Council, who, belonging to different political parties had united in desiring that the Council should be closed in honour of Mr. Tilak "a former member of this Council, a great Oriental scholar and a prominent worker in the cause of the country, held in high estimation by a large number of the people of India." But the Bureaucracy was as unwilling to forget its old grievances against Mr. Tilak as the *Times of India* or the *Statesman*.

Thousands of memorials to the Lokamanya have been suggested and raised in different parts of India. But the grandest of them all is the one for which Mahatma Gandhi moved from city to city and province to province, collecting huge sums during the eventful months of April, May and June 1921. As the Mahatmaji has said "Truly to revere the memory of a person is to achieve his life's purpose. Truly to revere the Memory of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whom India delighted and still delights to call Lokamanya must be to establish *Swaraj* and thus forever perpetuate his memory." For this purpose, the Mahatmaji has collected the biggest fund ever raised by the *people* of India during the last hundred years. "The Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund" will go down to posterity as a unique event in the history of this country. It will perpetuate not only the name of the Lokamanya but also that of Mahatma Gandhi, who, in three short months has accomplished a feat which Pandit M. M. Malaviya has scarcely been able to perform in the course of twelve years.

The amounts contributed by the various province

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are given below. The largest contribution——that of Rs. 3,00,000——has been made by Mr. A. B. Godrej, Proprietor of the Godrej, Boyce Manufacturing Company. It is earmarked for the (1) eradiction of the liquor traffic in India and (2) the elevation of the depressed classes.

Serial No.	Name of the Province.	Amount contributed. Rs.
1	Bombay	37,50,000
2	Gujarat	15,00,000
3	Punjab	9,22,707
4	Behar	7,10,628
5	Bengal	6,50,000
6	Maharashtra ..	4,41,475
7	United Provinces ..	4,10,304
8	Andhra	3,50,000
8	Sind	1,95,542
10	Central Provinces (Marathi)	1,79,000
11	Madras	1,79,000
12	Karnatak ..	1,59,205
13	Burma	1,25,000
14	Delhi	1,05,000
15	Central Provinces (Hindi)	89,499
16	Berar	44,435
17	Ajmer	40,660
18	Assam	40,000
19	Utkal	23,652
20	Kerala	21,038
	Total ..	99,37,145

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" May his soul rest in peace!" How poor, how unreal do these words strike to the ear! The soul of the Lokamanya *will never rest in peace* unless and until *Swaraj* is established. It will be born again and again, if need be, in this holy land of the *rishis* until its high purpose is accomplished.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE MAN

The pages of thy book I read,
And as I closed each one,
My heart responding, ever said,
" Servant of God! Well done!"

Longfellow.

LIKE his literary career, Mr. Tilak's private life was almost absorbed into his political existence and it serves but to enhance the charm of his magnetic personality and romantic career; and yet, considered even separately, that *private* life, lived in the full blaze of *publicity*, will serve as a model for all those who consider self-introspection and self-elevation as the principle duty of life. Charles Stuart Parnell is reported to have said in one of his moments of infatuation that his public life belonged to his country and that his private life was his own. Mr. Tilak made no such distinction and his public career was only the logical outcome of those qualities of the heart, which have been over and over tested in his private life. Excepting what have been sent by the cold hand of Death, no cloud has marred the sunshine of his domestic felicity. His wife, calm, active and devoted, without the least touch of the modern woman in her, made his private life perfectly happy to him. She bore him six children,--three sons and three daughters, the latter all married—and died on 6th June 1912, while Mr. Tilak was at Mandalay. His eldest son

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Vishwanath was cut off in the prime of his life. Surrounded by a large family of children, grand-children and other near relatives, trusted by numerous friends and followed by the majority of his countrymen, with his purse, long or short, always at the disposal of the the needy and his time all given up to reading, writing, thinking, working for the country, Mr. Tilak may be said to have passed a singularly enviable life.

To a superficial observer, Mr. Tilak's personality appeared to be an extremely simple one for analysis ; but really it was extremely complex. What struck careful observers was the harmonious combination of apparently contradictory qualities. He was daring but cautious, simple but astute, fiery but quiet. An extremely social man, none revelled more in solitude. An idealist by nature, he trained himself to a perfect realisation of practical limitations. Though stern, he was kind-hearted. He delighted in conflicts, but he was by nature averse to them. He seemed resentful and implacable, but was always the first to conciliate and compromise ; and though plain and blunt in his talk and dealings, he has often suffered on account of that refined reserve which is the highest mark of nobility and culture.

Of those softer graces of life, which are the reward of the pursuit of the fine arts or fashionable games, he was totally devoid. He never cultivated music, vocal or instrumental, though, of course, he encouraged it in the annual public festivals, instituted by him in honour of the god *Ganesh*. He suffered himself to be occasionally taken to dramas, but he considered it all to be a waste of time. He detested cards and was indifferent

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to chess. He never handled a bat. All these accomplishments were antagonistic to his nature. We know how Mazzini did not consider himself to be free to indulge in his natural taste for music, painting and poetry; we are not, therefore, surprised to find Mr. Tilak neglecting them. He lacked not only the time but the necessary inclination also.

He rarely stood in need of physical recreation; and when he wanted rest, he repaired to his favourite sanatorium *Sinhgad* and there spent three or four hours daily in long morning walks, in swimming and in Indian gymnastics. Latterly, when the strain of public work and the exhaustion due to diabetes worried him, he was required to take longer spells of rest there.

As regards mental recreation, he had it in the diversified pursuit of knowledge. The immense vitality of his brain, his powers of endurance, coupled with his interests in the various branches of learning, enabled him to relax hs mind by going from one subject to anothe r, from politics to metaphysics, thence to science or law or mathematics. When extremely tired, he used to amuse himself with his favourite book—the *Maha-Bharat.* The distractions of his political career and the worries of public and private persecutions which tormented him till the last, only confirmed his love of learning and scholarship and indeed, the happiest and proudest moments of his life were those, when deliberately laying aside the burden of his anxieties, he flew to literature and philosophy with the eagerness that bespoke his preference.

Mr. Tilak, however, was not the master of his time and his philosophical or political meditations were daily

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interrupted by numerous callers, who visited him at any hour of the day. Many have blamed him for thus encouraging boredom and idle curiosity; and to a certain extent they were right; for accessibility to people at all times is not the necessary condition of democratic leadership. We know how in Greece, Pericles, the leader of the people was generally reserved, while his opponent, though the leader of the Aristocratic party was always accessible to the general public. Mr. Tilak seems to have kept as his models, the Tribunes of the Roman history, and like them, his doors were open for all visitors at any time. Infant democracy is impatient of the restraints which method and economy of time should impose upon the people in their dealings with the leaders. Mr. Tilak utilised this 'waste of time' in gauging the view point of the public and in selecting and training men for his work. Besides, like the Swami Vivekanand, he had developed the faculty of "thinking aloud" and while others considered him as merely frittering his time and energies, he really was building up the chains of his arguments.

It was only in such conversations, that the real Tilak was seen. His writings were severely logical and the element of fun that was introduced therein took too often the form of a satirical outburst or derisive laughter: His informal conversations, however, were full of *bon mots* and the irrepressible gaity of his nature was in frequent evidence. It was a delight to hear Mr. Tilak with his political armour laid aside, talking just like common people and yet with a certain insight and grandeur which made you realise the companionship of a great man. It was evident that this simple mood

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would not last long but must give place to the ' politica gladiator,' literary giant or subtle philospher and metaphysician. He glided into these moods almost imperceptibly and it was some time before his hearers were conscious of the deep waters they were taken into.

His heart was as great as head. He was a great giver ' and his pity gave ere charity began '. If there was any place where his astuteness did not work, it was this ; and naturally this ' weakness '—if a weakness it really is—was availed of by many. He gave not for name but because he must ; nor was money the only thing he gave. For one full generation, he gave free legal advice to all who sought it. Rich men and poor, the high and the low, learned men and the illiterate--all have been benefitted by his legal knowledge and he wrote and even arranged to send the petitions of many of his poor countrymen. Another man in his place would have made a fortune upon his knowledge of law, but with his characteristic contempt for money, Mr. Tilak not only never demanded fees but actually refused them when gratefully offered ; and all this notwithstanding money difficulties, which, owing to the Tai Maharaj case, haunted him till the last.

It was a privilege to have Mr. Tilak as your friend ; for then you could sleep over your difficulties in the secure knowledge that your affairs would be taken care of. A host of instances will illustrate this point ; we will refer to only two. (The late) Rao Saheb Bapat, Settlement officer of Baroda was charged with corruption and was tried in 1894 by a Special Commission. " The case arose out of a conspiracy against the Settle-

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ment Department, which was practically headed by the British Political Department; and Mr. Bapat's trial had certain special features of interest in as much as it was timed to be held behind the back of the Maharaja who was then on a tour in Europe, and the revelations in the trial were expected by the enemies of the Maharaja to cast a damaging slur on at least one aspect of his administration." Mr. Tilak gave Mr. Bapat the better part of one year and successfully fought out his case. To the well-known *Tai Maharaj* affairs he gave at least eighteen years of his busy life. In the earlier stages of the case, there were so many occasions when he could have conveniently given up his interest in the posthmus affairs of one of his dearest friends; but he was not the man to shirk off responsibility once he had pledged his word to his friend and he fought the case out to the bitter end, ultimately triumphing over his enemies.

Chivalry of nature was responsible for many of his side-activities; e.g. in the notorious Crawford case, Mr Tilak championed the cause of the dismissed Mamlatdars and succeeded in inducing the Government to grant them pensions when the arch-offender was given the same. In fact, chivalry was the bedrock of Mr. Tilak's character and his very entry into the public life of the country to the neglect of scholarly studies and financial prospects, is very largely due to this sense, which will not passively endure the sight of the sufferings and hardships of others.

To his comtemporaries, Mr. Tilak appealed most as a courageous man—a soldier. Other aspects of his personality, striking as they are, only recede in the

back-ground when compared wirh his courage. Misfortunes never disheartened him. His immense optimism, his readiness to sacrifice, his coolness and resourcefulness of mind, were but different manifestations of his courage. More than once, he has cheerfully left the sick-bed of his sons at the call of the country. The premature death of his eldest son gave him a shock. But only the nearest and most observant persons could mark its effect. In his last illness, after recovering consciousness which he had lost for over 20 hours, almost the first assurance he gave was "away with anxiety! certainly, I am not going to die. Now I will still live." When arrested in 1897, he was found sleeping soundly within an hour of his arrest. In 1908, soon after the sentence of six years' transportation was pronounced, he could command courage and mental peace enough to get good sleep. In 1903 when his very honesty of purpose was at stake, he had serenity of mind not only to follow his usual avocations, but also to complete his Arctic Home in the Vedas.

In his dealings with his opponents, he appeared rather hard and unrelenting; who will forget the almost perpetual fights in which he was engaged with Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, the friend of his youth? Who will forget the hard hits given by Agarkar, hits returned with interest? But when Agarkar was on his deathbed, Mr. Tilak ran to his side and the last and pathetic reconciliation was brought about in a torrent of tears. Even till the last, Mr. Tilak feelingly referred to Mr. Agarkar, and many have seen him weep over the past memories. Next to Agarkar he loved Ranade and next to him Mr. Gokhale. Jealousy was foreign to Mr. Tilak's

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nature, and this has been shown by his frequent public appreciation of his opponents. A conspicuous instance in point is the address which he presented to Mr. Gokhale in 1905, on the latter's return from England.

This placability towards opponents is an evidence of a brave and candid spirit—of true *Kshatriya* qualities. In Mr. Tilak's case, these qualities were shown to advantage by *Brahmanic* lustre,--simplicity, purity and the spirit of renunciation. His dress, diet, habits—everything was simplicity incarnate. He never allowed himself to be caught in the demoralizaing snare of luxury. Mr. Tilak's purity of life, publicly acknowledged by men like Sir Valentine Chirol was the keystone of his character. He was virtuous not by effort but by instinct.

In the early part of his career he was considered to be extremely obstinate, fanatical and reckless. From the very first his greatness was recognised by a section of the educated class and by the people at large who instinctively looked upon him as their leader. The tide of popularity swelled more and more, till it broke the barriers of province, sect and creed. At the time of his death, Mr. Tilak was the idol of the people, the moulder of the national will. Honour came to him, in spite of his political opponents, in spite of bureaucratic persecutions. " But the cup that intoxicated others, sobered him. " He kept his head cool, in the midst of regal honours, huge processions and deafening ovations. He utilised these outbursts for the propagation of his ideas, but he was, by nature averse to and impatient of such demonstrations. The spirit of renunciation was a

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marked feature of his character. He liked to dispense honours, rather than to receive them. He would be something higher than a king,—a king-maker. From the Superintendentship of the New English School and the Principalship of the Fergusson College to the Presidentship of the Home Rule Conference and of the National Congress, Mr. Tilak studiously kept himself in the back-ground and rejoiced in the honour of others. Time was, when, while in a minority in the Congress, he suffered his name to be proposed for the Presidentship of the Congress. But that was only for establishing a principle and not for seeking any honour ; and when his party did come to caommand a majority in the Congress, he twice refused the highest honour offered to him. The Special Sessions of the Congress in 1918 and 1920 were presided over by Mr. Hasan Imam and Lala Lajpat Rai, and on both these occasions Mr. Tilak's Presidentship was unanimously sought.

A true *Brahmin* and a true *Kshatriya*, Mr. Tilak, at the time of his death, was the most powerful personality in India.

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CHAPTER XXII

IN THE EDITORIAL CHAIR

Great is Journalism. Is not every Able Editor a Ruler of the World, being a persuader of it; though self-elected yet sanctioned by the sale of his Numbers?

Thomas Carlyle

MR. TILAK became the declared editor of the *Kesari* on 22nd October 1887, and of the *Mahratta* on 3rd Spetember 1891. Since then, he conducted these journals as proprietor till the last, and though, the editorship was occasionally transferred to others, still he supplied the necessary inspiration, except during the intervals when he was a guest of His Majesty's gaols.

From the very beginning, he neglected the *Mahratta*. Indeed, it may be said, he never liked journalism in English. He believed only in the vernacular as an instrument of national awakening. Hence he never cared to turn the *Mahratta* into a daily newspaper. English weeklies in India have always been a source of financial embarrassment to the conductors, and the *Mahratta* was no exception to this rule. At the time of Mr. Tilak's death, the circulation of the *Mahratta* stood at about 2000.

With the *Kesari* he was in his element. A weekly paper, now with a circulation of over 35,000, it has moulded the national life of Maharashtra during the last 30 years. The *Kesari*, as the name indicates, stands for manli-

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ness, strength. During all its vicissitudes, courage has never failed it. Its wisdom has been occasionally challenged, its tact or fairplay. But not even the worst enmies have whispered cowardice to its discredit.

During his life-time, Mr. Tilak conducted the *Kesari* nominally as a proprietory concern. In the evening of his life, he intended to put it on a democratic basis. It was only latterly that the *Kesari* was a financial success. During the first 10 years of his ownership of the paper, it was burdened with a heavy debt. During the last six years again the extraordinary rise in the cost of paper did not make it quite a profitable concern, and in spite of the increase in the subscription rates, Mr. Tilak had to succour the paper from the profits of the *Gita-Rahasya*. Then there was the terrible expenditure of the long-drawn *Tai Maharaj case*, which had to be provided for. In spite of all these difficulties, Mr. Tilak had unreservedly placed the cash-box of the *Kesari* at the entire disposal of the national propaganda. He spent hundreds and thousands for the national work, without boast or ostentation. He could have easily saved large amounts by substantially increasing the subscription, which his devoted readers would have gladly paid ; but he accepted the *Kesari* as a sacred trust and not as a business concern. He wanted it to reach the hands of the poorest of the poor and become the vehicle of his message. The cheapest and the best —it had and has no second.

Though repeatedly pressed to turn it into a daily paper, Mr. Tilak till the last kept it as a weekly and it was only last year that he made arrangements to bring it out as a *bi-weekly*. The ideal he had kept before

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him—cheapness and excellence—was incompatible with the hurry and cost of a daily newspaper.

Mr. Tilak and the *Kesari* were convertible terms. Their careers have been synonmous with the history of Maharashtra during the last 30 years. It has been a period of storm and stress. It has witnessed a vast transformation and has been the era of action and re-action—political and social. Through rocks and shoals, Mr. Tilak steered the *Kesari*, not caring for favour, nor afraid of frown, with a grim sense of duty. He was always bold but uniformly wary. His is one long record of intellectual and moral intrepidity, sustained by breadth of vision and depth of insight. The *Kesari* has been a castle for national fight, reared under the very nose of the Bureaucracy, proving impregnable even under shells of repression. Truly, it has become a national asset.

The style of Mr. Tilak's *Kesari* was, like the physiognomy of its illustrious editor, plain, blunt, and aggressive. It was "reason fused and made red-hot with passion." It despised mere literary garnish and was the very negation of the soft suppleness of an intellectual epicurean. It had nothing of the flowing humour of Mr. N. C. Kelkar's style, the sweetness of Mr. Pangarkar's,* the grace of Mr. Agarkar's or of the subtle suggestiveness, delicate irony and arrestive coquetry of Prof- S. M. Paranjpye's† style. It reminds you, not of a cloister

* Editor of the *Mumukshu* and the author, among other books, of the life of Moropant and the life of Tukaram. He is an eloquent exponent of what may be called Neo-Orthodoxy.

† Editor of the now defunct *Kal*, which by its amazingly bold articles had created (1899) quite a panic in Congress circles.

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or an academy, not of a music-hall or a ball-room, but of the battle-field. Straight, pointed, Mr. Tilak's written words, arrow-like whistled through the air and hit the mark. They struck terror into the hearts of those who opposed him. The flunkeys, the Government minions and the busy nobodies were as mortally afraid of them as were the Reformers, the Moderates or the Liberals. Even the powerful Bureaucracy, protected by the prestige of the British Empire and the swords and guns of two hundred thousand soldiers, feared his attacks. Mr. Tilak has been frequently blamed for his strong language. We should, however, remember that he was the centre of acute political and social controversies extending over one generation. He could not be expected to rouse the masses to a sense of self-respect, self-reliance, and self-confidence except by pointed language. He, however, never hit below the belt. His criticism was impetuous but never vulgar, mean or vindictive. It bore 'no spots which all the perfumes of Arabia could not sweeten."

His instructions to his assistants reveal the secret of his direct but homely style. "Imagine that you are speaking to a villager and not writing for University people. No Sanskrit words please. Avoid quoting statistics. Don't scare away the reader by quoting figures. Keep them to yourself. Let your style be simple and homely. It should be as clear as day-light. The meaning must never be obscure."

He was as good as his advice. True, in the early nineties, the *Kesari* was written in a more learned style. The exuberant scholarship of Mr. Tilak peeped through every column. Not a subject under the sun, but

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found its way in the *Kesari*. At a minute's notice he poured forth columns of wonderful learning, duly adorned with a literary setting. Religion, philosophy, economics, agriculture, astronomy, science—there was no subject too difficult for his pen or mind. He not only assimilated all the available knowledge on the subject in hand, but put his own stamp on it. His luminous and often original writings on knotty questions of philosophy or science are an intellectual treat and would repay a careful perusal even to-day.

But Mr. Tilak soon realised that it is not seed, lavishly sown that bears fruit, but the seed that is carefully put under the earth. This made him take into consideration the intellectual level of his readers. He put himself the question "Whom do I write for?" and it was got long before he gave himself the correct answer. uince then, his writings and speeches tended more and more to simplicity, without losing an iota of vigour.

The equipment which he brought to bear on his editorial work was indeed, extremely rare, not only in this country but in any other. Possessed of a profound knowledge of the law, he did not care what restrictions the Government put on the freedom of the Press. He was prepared, he used to say, to convey his message under any rigours imposed by the law. Only the Bureaucracy must adhere to the compact and must not shuffle its position again and again and try to seek new meaning into the definition of sedition every time, by straining its words and distorting their import and significance.

His complete mastery over the Sanskrit language and literature, Vedic and post-Vedic, classical and philosophical, enabled him not only to form a style at once simple

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and eloquent, but to free journalistic diction from the unnatural pompousness—too often mistaken for eloquence, which the study of English classics had brought into Marathi. He formed a new style in Marathi journalism, and most of the Marathi journals of the day have adopted it.

His profound knowledge of philosophy, science, metaphysics—Indian and European—stood him in good stead not only in making scholarly criticisms, but in the leading controversies of the last 30 years. Our social and religious life, ideas and institutions, are, so to speak, in the melting pot and the changes that are to be introduced must suit the basic ideas of our society. Mr. Tilak believed in what may be termed, "Indian Sociology" as Mr. Ranade did in "Indian Economics." His attitude towards Social Reform was largely determined by sociological considerations. Others had seen only the crust that lies on the Indian civilisation and had pronounced it to be worthless. Mr. Tilak had gone deeper and had learnt how precious our culture is.

He had studied the constitutional laws and histories of England and other European countries. Politics was his special study and he wanted to write an original thesis on this subject. At Mandalay, he devoted all his leisure to the study of the French and the German.

It would thus be seen that the range of Mr. Tilak's reading was enormously vast. But he was not a mere reader of books. He meditated profoundly on what he read. He supplemented his reading and thinking by communicating with the best minds of his age. His active life afforded the necessary corrective to his

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thoughts. The combination of a thinker and a fighter in the person of its editor, gave the *Kesari* that amazing hold over its readers, which has hardly a parallel.

Possessed of a wonderful memory, Mr. Tilak never cared to cultivate those methods by which many a newspaper writer tries to lessen the burden on his memory. Mr. Tilak never kept notes nor topic-books. What he read, he remembered. What he remembered was always ready at his beck and call. Quotations, extracts, references—everything was ready at a moment's notice. When he began to dictate articles for the *Kesari*, his amanuensis could, with very great difficulty, keep pace with him. But though Mr. Tilak was a rapid reader and a rapid writer, he was a very careful student. Before commencing to dictate, he carefully studied the question in all its bearing, ransacked all the available literature on the subject and then considered himself ready for the task. Thoroughness was the secret of his success.

As the political life of the people is developing, it has been found necessary to supply suitable equivalents for English political terminology. Such words as, Responsible Government, Imperial Federation, Passive Resistance, despotism, Limited Monarchy, Budget, Decentralization, do not easily lend themselves to translation. The brunt of the work of coining suitable Marathi words congenial to the genius of the language, had mainly fallen on Mr. Tilak, and it was very interesting and instructive to find this all-India leader discussing occassionally with his sub-editors possible equivalents to knotty political terms. The word ' Bureaucracy ' in particular baffled him for a number of years and though

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he translated it by '*Adhikari Varga,* still he was not quite pleased with the expression. It was in the course of a lecture that the word '*Nokarshahi*' occurred to him. So delighted was he with this word, that he called some of his literary friends at the end of the speech, and shared with them his joy at the addition of an extremely nice word to the Marathi vocabulary. Like the elephant of the story, Mr. Tilak's intellectual tusk, strong enough to bear the load of heavy timber, was also capable of lifting up a pin. His genius was at once comprehensive and subtle.

The expression "old wine in new bottles" is generally an empty compliment. Mr. Tilak's discussion of abstruse political theories, however, never struck his readers as something outlandish, something developed and prepared thousands of miles away and thence imported into India. His readers always felt at home with his writings and were never repelled by the English political thought which he discussed in Marathi. Mr. Tilak not only made his reader understand him, he made him also remember the main points in his writings. Some words, some expressions, some sentences in his articles always lingered in the memory of the reader. The article may be forgotten, but such words stick to the memory. Usually the title of the heading of the article was pithy and expressive. It summed up the whole of the article in some striking phrase. He always said that a good heading was worth half the writing.

The object of the propagandist is to influence his readers. He seeks inspiration from the people, and returns it thousandfold. He receives instruction and imparts it at compound interest. Mr. Tilak bore this

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truth in mind while conducting the *Kesari*. He concentrated all his energies on the work of national awakening. Whatever helped that work found a place in the *Kesari*; otherwise it was shunned, though the very best. People went to the *Kesari*, not to get news, but to interpret it. Their estimates of men and things were largely influenced by the *Kesari*. Their attitude was determined by that of the *Kesari*. A compliment from the *Kesari* has built up many a career; its censure has marred it. Verily it has been a great dictator, though a benevolent one.

This then, is the work of the *Kesari*. It has formed the style of Marathi Journalism; it has expanded the thought-expressing capacity of the Marathi language. It has familiarised the people with the political thought of modern European life. It has widened the outlook of the sons of the soil. It has roused them to a consciousness of the glorious past and the wretched present. It has inspired them with new hope for the future. It has concentrated their attention to the live political issue; and has mercilessly thrust in the back-ground, whatever was not directly concerned with that issue. It has set an example of devotion, of sacrifice, of plain speaking and of courage. It has taught them to keep their heads cool in storms and rear them again after the hurricane spent its force. It has been the centre of political education, the source of political agitation, and the pivot of all national organization, in Western India. As one speaker aptly put it, it has transformed the Maharashtra of 1890 to what it is in 1921.

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CHAPTER XXIII

TILAK THE SCHOLAR

To me it (*i e.* The Arctic Home in the Vedas) is significant because it appeared in the midst of the author's direst persecution when money reputation, influence and everything were at stake, and few men would have had the courage to spare a thought either for sacred books or Arctic Circles.

H. W. Nevinson.

THE scholar in politics is either a remarkable failure or an extraordinary success. In the scholar's temperament, hesitency, lack of strong will-power, impatience and petulance usually form the chief ingredients. His knowledge of men is limited ; his grasp of actualities is imperfect. He has no resourcefulness, very little courage or presence of mind. His personality is weak and he is very rarely a ruler of men. The failure as an administrator of M. Guizot, the celebrated philosopher-historian is a striking illustration of the danger of appointing men of letters at the helm of affairs. Mr. Tilak however was primarily a man of action. His wonderful and luminous scholarship and his versatile and comprehensive genius formed merely the back-ground of a strong-willed, fiery, masterful, soldierly personality. His scholarship illuminated his political leadership with a lustre as rare as it was dazzling ; his political leadership gave his scholarly work a prestige and a significance totally absent in the efforts

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of mere scholars. If a scholar in politics is a rarity, a scholar-politician finding his way to gaol is still more so; and that, such a man should have lifted his thoughts from the chilling atmosphere of gaol-life and the excruciating pain which inevitably attends it, up to the regions of ethics and philosophy is, verily a wonder of wonders!

But this was not the only wonder. Mr. Tilak's everyday life was hardly more favourable to literary pursuits than his gaol-life. It was a life of storm and stress. It is really surprizing that the din of political controversies enabled him to concentrate his mind on patient and laborious research. His first work, the *Orion* was planned and written in the midst of Social Reform controversies, the legacy of whose acrimony still abides; the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* was completed and published when Mr. Tilak was in the throes of a prosecution which was probably intended to strike at the very basis of his political and social position. It is this peace in the midst of storms and this serenity amid misery and obloquy that proves Mr. Tilak's "title to something far higher and greater than the honour of mere political leadership" or scholarly wisdom. In him we recognize "the stuff of which the saints and seers of the race are made."

Originality and versatility were the characteristics of Mr. Tilak's genius. Though he planned writing many books, he actually wrote only three—(1) the *Orion* (English) (2) the *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, (English) and (3) The *Gita-Rahasya* (Marathi). The theme of each is new and arresting. The *Orion* takes the antiquity of the *Vedas* back to 6000 B.C., a claim which Western

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scholars have at last grudgingly accepted. The *Arctic Home* proves that the cradle of the Aryans was not the Caucasus mountain, but the effulgent region of the North Pole. Both these volumes have suggested new view-points and have compelled Sanskritists to revise their estimates regarding the early history of the Aryan race. Mr. Tilak's commentary on the *Gita* establishes a new and convincing theory of *Karma-yoga*. These books are not mere compilations. They strike out a novel line of thought and research. The intellect of Gokhale and Telang was merely assimilative; that of Tilak and Ranade was original and creative. In the *Arctic Home*, for instance, Mr. Tilak has given quite new and extremely convincing interpretations of nearly 80 verses in the *Rig-veda*, besides throwing ample light on more than twice the number. It should be remembered that these verses had baffled students of the *Vedas* from Sayana of the hoary past to the most recent Sanskrit scholar of Europe or America. Nor was this all. The Vedic Mythology, hitherto explained from Yaska downwards on the Storm or Dawn theory, had presented several knotty problems to the end of the last century and it was reserved for Mr. Tilak to establish the theory of "cosmic circulation of ærial waters" by means of which the legends of Indra and Vritra, of Saptavadhri, of Aditi and her seven flourishing and one still born son, of Surya's wheel and of Dirghatamas, became fully intelligible. These studies filled his mind with a thousand and one new and interesting ideas regarding the evolution of the Hindu Religion and Philosophy. He was eager to develop these ideas and incorporate them in two or three

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volumes, but he had no hope of being able to do so, unless, as he humourously said "Government was pleased to send him back to Mandalay for another period of six years."

Even the perfunctory and casual account he has given in the *Arctic Home* and the *Gita-Rahasya*, of the progress of the ancient Aryans in culture, shows that he was gifted with an imagination of a very high order; Mr. Tilak's imagination was rather the solid, strong and masculine imagination of a scientist or a philosopher than the poet's which like "a beautiful *and ineffectual* angel" beats "in the void, his luminous wings." His short but suggestive article on the "Indian and the Chaldean Vedas" strikes out a new line of investigation not only in comparative philology but in the history of ancient Asia as well. In this article, Mr. Tilak starts with a quotation from the Atharva-Veda wherein he finds several words that look unsanskrit in origin, traces them to the Chaldean Vedas and then gives his arguments regarding inter-communication between India and Chaldea.

Mr. Tilak's genius was at once comprehensive and subtle. "In one swift gyre" it surveyed the whole extent of the subject in hand; at the same time there was nothing too minute for its ken. He developed argument after argument, built up theory after theory, with the same enjoyment with which he descended to the exhaustive discussion of the grammatical and philological peculiarities of a word; after surveying with his intellectual teleoscope the rise and progress of philosophical thoughts and systems, he did not disdain with microscopic minuteness to trace a missing verse from a refer-

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ence book (*e. g.* Sankhya-Karikas) or fix the Sanskrit definition of Hindu Epics. This subtlety of intellect enabled him to emend and correctly interpret all the verses of that knotty little book—the *Vedanga-Jyotish.*

The clarity of his ideas and the rapidity with which he transmitted them to paper were really wonderful. The *Arctic Home* contains references to nearly 500 learned volumes, and the *Gita-Rahasya* to nearly twice that number. He spent days, months and years in collecting and analyzing materials for his treatises. But once the materials were fully digested and the skeleton-notes prepared, he took very little time to write or dictate the book. Thus he worked at the *Orion* for nearly four years, at the *Arctic Home* for nearly nine, and at the *Gita-Rahasya* for more than twenty years. But the time he actually took to write these books was incredibly small. The *Orion* was finished in less than one month and the *Arctic Home* (about 450 Pages) in about two months. His *magnum opus,* the *Gita-Rahasya* required only five months. It was written in the winter of 1910-11 at Mandalay.

The Mahabharat (and especially the Gita) and the *Rig-veda* were Mr. Tilak's favourite books. While reading the *Gita* in 1889, it occurred to him " that important conclusions may be deduced from the statement of Krishna that 'he was Margashirsha of the months'." This led him to inquire into the primitive *Vedic* Calendar and in 1892 Mr. Tilak sent an essay on this subject to the Ninth Oriental Congress held in London and in the next year (1893) he published in book-form the results of his four years' researches. In this book, Mr. Tilak abandoned the purely linguistic method of research of

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the Western scholars and adopted the astronomical one about the utility of which those scholars were rather doubtful. The book created a sensation and though it was at first perused with scepticism, still subsequently Max Muller, Weber. Jacobi and other Sanskritists had to accept Mr. Tilak's conclusions and re-adjust their own in the light of Mr. Tilak's investigations. Dr. Bloomfield the celebrated Professor of Sanskrit, at the John Hopkin's University referring to the *Orion* said (1894):—

" But a literary event of even greater importance has happened within the last two or three months—an event which is certain to stir the world of science and culture far more than the beatific reminiscences. Some twelve weeks ago, I received from India a small duodecimo volume, in the clumsy get-up and faulty typography of the native Anglo-Indian Press. It came with the regards of the author, a person totally unknown to fame. I had never heard his name. * * *. It will be understood that the entry of the little volume upon my horizon was not such as to prejudice me in its favour, and secondly, I placed it where it might be reached, without too much effort, in the drowsy after-dinner hour, to be disposed of, along with much second-class matter such as reaches a scholar through the channels of the Postal Union. Nor was the preface at all encouraging. The author blandly informs us that the age of the *Rigveda,* cannot be less than 4000 years before Christ and that the express records of the Hindu antiquity point back to 6000 before Christ. Having in mind the boundless fancy of the Hindu through the ages and his particularly fatal facility for 'taking his mouthful' when it comes to a question of numbers,

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proposed to myself to continue to turn the leaves of the book with the amused smile of orthodoxy befitting the occassion. But soon the amused smile gave way to an uneasy sense that something unusual had happened. I was first impressed with something leonine in the way in which the author controlled the *Vedic* literature and the occidental works on the same; my superficial reading was soon replaced by absorbed study, and finally, having been prepared to scoff mildly, I confess that the author had convinced me in all the essential points. The book is unquestionably the literary sensation of the year; history, the chronic readjuster shall have her hands uncommonly full to assimilate the result of Tilak's discovery and arrange her paraphernalia in the new perspective."

After the publication of the *Orion*, Mr. Tilak carried on correspondence with Prof. Max Muller on various philological and astronomical points. Like some chronic fever, the subject pursued him, despite the claims which political work had upon his time and energy. The years 1895-97 were, indeed, some of the busiest years of his life; but all the same, *Vedic* chronology formed a strong undercurrent of his thoughts. This was a peculiarity with Mr. Tilak. Frequently he could so withdraw his mind from work, that only the lighter moods occupied him. But when a subject 'possessed' him, it gave him no rest, it tormentated him even in his sleep. Before such a powerful concentration it was no wonder that Saraswati yielded the keys of her treasures. Throughout the busy years of the Poona Congress, the Famine, the Plague, the Councillorship and the Press-prosecutions in the Bombay Presidency,

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the little leisure he could snatch was given to *Vedic* studies. In 1897, he was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment; and what time he could get in the Yeravda Jail, was devoted to the continuation of his *Vedic* researches. The first manuscript of the *Arctic Home* was written at the end of 1898, but Mr. Tilak hesitated to publish the book for a long time "because the lines of investigation had ramified into many allied sciences such as geology, archaeology, comparative mythology and so on" and as Mr. Tilak thought himself to be a layman in these, he felt some diffidence as to whether he had "correctly grasped the bearings of the latest researches in these siences." Unable in India to find a University atmosphere where one could get all up-to-date information on *any* desired subject, the only course open for Mr. Tilak was, in the words of Prof. Max Muller "to step boldly out of his own domain and take an independent survey" of the allied seiences like Geology, even at the risk of being called "an interloper, an ignoramus, a mere dilettante." After completely satisfying himself on all the different points, Mr. Tilak published the book (1903) which was more favourably received by Western scholars than the *Orion*.

Like the early editorial writing of Mr. Tilak, the *Orion* was written in what may be called the scholar's style. But the *Arctic Home* is a book which even the lay reader can peruse with enjoyment. The style is smooth, flowing, and extremely lucid, occasionally rising to the heights of philosophical eloquence. The treatment is at once interesting and methodical. After stating the problem in brief, Mr. Tilak treats of the Glacial Period and proves from geological evidence of

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fossil, fauna and flora that "in the early geological ages, when the Alps were low and the Himalayas not yet upheaved, and when Asia and Africa were represented only by a group of islands, * * * an equable and uniform climate prevailed over the whole surface of the globe as a result of these geographical conditions." Mr. Tilak then describes the Polar and circumpolar characteristics. The former are: (1) the sun rises in the South (2) the stars do not rise and set but *revolve in horizontal planes* (3) the year consists only of *one long day and one long night of six months each* (4) the sun rises and sets only once a year but the *twilight*, whether of the morning or of the *evening lasts continuously* for about *two months*. The circum-polar characteristics are (1) The sun will *always be to the South* of the zenith of the observer. (2) A large number of stars are above the horizon, during the entire period of their revolution and hence, always visible. (3) The year is made up of three parts (a) *one long continuous night;* (b) one long continuous day (c) a succession of ordinary days and nights. (4) The dawn, at the close of the long continuous night lasts for several days. Mr. Tilak says "if a *Vedic* description or tradition discloses any of the characteristics mentioned above, we may safely infer that the tradition is polar or circum-polar in origin and the phenomenon, if not actually witnessed by the poet, was at least known to him by tradition faithfully handed down from generation to generation." Mr. Tilak then quotes many such passages and traditions and proves the existence of the Arctic Home. He supports his conclusions by studies in comparative mythology and by quotations from the Avesta "which express

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ly tell us that the happy land of Airyaya Vaejo or the Aryan Paradise, was located in a region where the sun shone but once a year, and that it was destroyed by the invasion of snow and ice, which rendered its climate inclement."

Here is an Anglo-Indian estimate of Mr. Tilak's book. Prof. Fraser, editor of the *Indian Education* thus writes about the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* :—

> " We regret we cannot enter into a critical review of this book ; but we gladly assist to make it known and pay a short tribute to the clear style in which it is written throughout. All readers will appreciate this; Indian students not least. It is well and carefully printed and presented in an attractive cover. Unfortunately; the binding is very weak and this a great pity in the case of a book which has a permanent value. It is fastened with wire instead of being sewn ; this is a feeble sort of binding in any case. In India, the wire soon rusts and this causes the paper to rot and leaves to become loose."

Apparently the line of Addison's Tom Folio is not yet extinct !

In the course of his *Vedic* studies Mr. Tilak found that, in spite of the valuable initial help, which the commentators give, it is on the whole better to carry research work in ancient literature, unfettered by the occasionally wrong lead given by the so-called authorities. It was only when Mr. Tilak rejected Sayana on one hand, and Prof. Max Muller on the other that he could make valuable contribution to the interpretation of the *Vedas*. He tried the same method with the *Gita*. He

was first introduced to this book during his father's last illness; at that time Mr. Tilak was barely 16. In the stillness of evening, he would sit by the lamp-side and read out to his father the *Gita* and its Marathi commentary. The sublime melody of the *Gita* charmed him and since then he was a devoted student of the Lord's Song. But, almost from the time of his first perusal of the book, a doubt haunted his mind. The great Shankaracharya has pronounced the *Gita* to have preached *Jnyana*, unqualified by *Karman*. Can it be so? If yes, how are we to reconcile the fact that Arjuna was moved, by the Lord's Message, to do that *Karman*, which had repelled him? The commentators are silent. Indeed, most of them entirely neglect the first chapter and start their commentaries from the 11th verse of chapter second. Wearied by the wrong lead given by the commentators, Mr. Tilak read the original repeatedly without the aid of any commentary, till at last, be found that the *Gita*, far from being a book of cold philosophy, was a guide for every day life, a master-piece on *Karmayoga Shastra*. The more did he discuss this subject with contemporary scholars, the more was he convinced of the strength of his contention, until at last he determined to give his researches out to the public. But that was not an easy matter. The anti-Partition agitation made Mr. Tilak the leader of All-India Party, and all his time was swallowed up by Politics. He had given up the attempt as hopeless and when in July 1908, he was sentenced to six years' transportation, even the last lingering chance was apparently lost, for no-body ever expected him to

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survive the dreary period. But the subsequent commutation of his sentence to one of simple imprisonment together with the literary facilities afforded, enabled him to undertake the enterprise and within less than twenty months after he was "well settled" at Mandalay, he wrote in a letter as follows :—

"About the *Gita*, I have finished what I call *Gita Rahasya*, an independent and original book investigating the purpose of the *Gita* and showing how our religious philosophy is applied therein to solution of the ethical problem. For, my view of the *Gita* is, that it is a work on Ethics—not Utilitarian, nor intuitional but transcendental, somewhat on the lines followed in the Green's 'Prolegomena to Ethics.' I have compared, throughout, the Gita-philosophy with the Western, both religious and ethical and have tried to show that our system is, to say the least, not inferior to any of the Western methods. This *Rahasya* is made up of 15 chapters with an appendix devoted to a critical examination of the ,*Gita* as part of the Mahabharat and discussing its age etc. * * * It will I think fill about 300 or 350 pages. To this a translation of the *Gita*, according to my view of it, is yet to be appended and I am now engaged on this translation, which,by the bye, is a light task. * * * I believe it will be found to be an entirely original book like the "*Orion*"; for so far as I am aware, no one has ventured on such a path before in translating or commenting on the *Gita*, though I have had this view ofthe *Gita* in mind for about the last twenty years and more. I have used all the books that I have here with me

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but there are references to works, not with me here, and as these are quoted from memory, they will have to be verified before publishing the book * * * Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason' and 'Green's Prolegomena to Ethics' are the main English authorities for my book which is based on the *Brahmasutras* (Shankaracharya's *Bhashya*) and the Mahabharat * * * and it treats in brief, the Hindu Philosophy of active life."

The book—a ponderous volume of 854 closely-printed pages—was, published (1915) a few months after Mr. Tilak was set free. The first edition—6000 copies—was sold off within a week. The second and third editions were also soon exhausted. The book has been translated into Gujarati, Hindi and Kanarese and Mr. Tilak proposed to get it rendered into Bengali, Telgu, Tamil and other leading vernaculars of India. It was his intention to give out his researches to the Western countries but as that was a work which could not conveniently be left to mere translators, Mr. Tilak intended to do it himself.

But that was not to be; nor was this the only literary project he left unfinished. With life and leisure, he would have brought out treatises on (1) The Differential and Integral Calculas (2) The Hindu Law (3) and Politics. Regarding (1) he had collected all the necessary materials and digested them. A few months' leisure and the book would have been ready. The same remark holds good about his intended book on Politics. His sudden death was a loss not only to the Political but also to the Literary World. Even Mr. Tilak's opponents will admit that during its life, the University

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of Bombay has not produced a more versatile or original genius. Its semi-official character may not have enabled it to honour itself by honouring Mr. Tilak. India, however, gratefully recognises that the literary recreation of Mr. Tilak has accomplished far brighter and more enduring results than the works of many a professional Sanskritist.

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CHAPTER XXIV

LOKAMANYA TILAK AND MAHATMA GANDHI.

Yet this is not the whole man. You cannot say this is he, that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades; and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition. They partake of the nature of the Illimitable and the Eternal from which they have sprung and to which they are bound. With their feet firm-set on earth and their hands among the stars, they are pointers of the way to those who search, encouragers of the faint and weary, inspirers of those breathing in deep draughts of hope.

H. S. Polak on M. K. Gandhi.

NOW that Lokamanya Tilak, the Hercules of Indian nationalism is no more and Mahatma Gandhi has succeeded to the leadership of the country, it will not be out of place to compare and contrast some of their characterestics. It goes without saying, that the lives of both Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi were dedicated to the cause of the country. Mr. Tilak had a prevision of his ultimate destiny while yet a college student. Immediately after passing the LL. B. examination, he set his back on the emoluments of the legal profession and the prospect of becoming a High Court Judge and

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became a poor school-master. He resisted also that still greater attraction of the career of a scholar, poring over volumes and making immortal researches,—a task, for which, he was eminently qualified—and unreservedly accepted the life of a public man, so wasteful of time and productive of ephemeral literature. The dedication of Mr. Gandhi came a little late, but certainly not very late. Mr. Tilak's course appears self-sought and selected; Mr. Gandhi's accidental and providential. Once Mr. Gandhi planted his foot in South Africa, his career was fixed and his heroic work in the Land of Diamonds will form one of the most splendid and inspiring chapters in the history of India. The struggle, in which he was engaged there, was eminently spiritual. It was that losing struggle, with its terrible vicissitudes that called forth all his moral and spiritual powers. With a small band of desperate and patriotic Indians, surrounded by an extremely unsymapthetic and selfish white population which was eager to take advantage of every weakness of their opponents it is small wonder that Mr. Gandhi fought out the battle on the spiritual plane. He tested and developed his powers in a struggle with opponents who depended on mere physical force. "More important than even the success in our endeavours, is the development of our character in this struggle. Let success come or not, we have gained by the gain of spirituality." So said he once, while referring to the South African compaign. The struggle, in which Mr. Tilak was engaged, was essentially different from this. It was largely intellectual and spiritual only partially. A vast country governed recklessly, despotically and unsympathetically by a handful of

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foreigners, with the children ot the soil mostly inert, the educated class timid, weak and vacillating—such was the India, which young Tilak saw. Knowing that he was wanted for the work of uplift, he threw himself, heart and soul, into the breach. Impatient to get freedom, he wanted all to concentrate on the political issue. The Age of Consent controversy separated him from the bulk of the Reformers, the circumstances of the Hindu-Mahomedan riots marked him out for Bureaucratic attentions. Honours were tried, but they did not ensnare him ; and then, all the concentrated ire, of a small but powerful clique of officials burst upon him ; that too left him unnerved and undaunted. His Famine and Plague agitations are well-known and they were followed in a few years by the Swadeshi Movement and then the Home Rule Propaganda. It will thus be seen, that Mr. Tilak's mission called forth more varied qualities of the head and the heart. His career exhibits the tactical cleverness of a politician, the far-sight of a statesman, the coolness of a philosopher, the profundity of a scholar and the fervid spirit of a martyr. These different hues, imperceptibly blended with one another, make his character as charming to the historian as the rainbow is to the artist. Mr. Gandhi's greatness is more uniform. The rigorous discipline, with which he has built up his character, has made him as great and sacrificing in the petty details of his life as in his leadership of his countrymen. His dress, diet, habits, talk, every movement from him reflects the intense fervour of his luminous spirituality. Mr. Tilak's greatness was the rugged, uneven loftiness of the Himalayas ; while that of Mr.

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Gandhi puts us in mind of a mountain-fastness with its strong-built walls and parapets, every nook and corner, properly guarded and utilised for defence. In every day life, Mr. Tilak seemed an ordinary gentleman with nothing remarkably wonderful about him. It was only when the moment for thought or action came, that you saw him at his best, with his armour on. He never liked to keep the burden of his mail on his person the whole day long. Mr. Gandhi works, in the language of Milton, always "in his great Task-Master's eye." Every small detail of his life, private or public, is to him of the utmost account, to be regulated in accordance with definite principles followed with military rigour. Asleep or awake, walking or talking, in thought or action, he is the same Mahatma with his eyes fixed on High. This utter holiness of life mellows the dazzling heroic qualities he possesses. If, for instance, Mr. Tilak's courage blinded both friend and foe, the courage of Mr. Gandhi is most delightful to the eye because he has softened it to a point, at which we can bear its light. To a Justice Davar, Mr. Tilak would reply with proud and flashing defiance. Mr. Gandhi, equally gifted with courage would moderate its lustre with the same care with which an Indian physician medicates mercury. Mr. Tilak's utterances seem addressed to others, Mr. Gandhi's nothing but a loud soliloquy. While Mr. Tilak is talking to others, Mr. Gandhi thinks aloud.

It is admitted on all hands that both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Tilak have been the two most towering leaders of the age. Their leadership too, reveals certain peculiarities, characteristic of the temperament of each.

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Both of them have been worshippers of their own conscience. But they have never, like the Moderate leaders, emphasied their disagreement with the people. Both have considered leadership to be the capacity to interpret and appreciate the national sentiment and to conduct it in the most constructive channels. But there has been one difference. During the last thiry years, Mr. Tilak, with unerring astuteness, not only understood the will of the people, but had the elasticity to interpret it in action, with the result, that his leadership was continuous. With regard to Mr. Gandhi, though his hands have always been on the pulse of the people, and though he has been uniformly in sympathy and general agreement with his countrymen on the political issues, still he has not always cared to lead them. When the whole of India was astir and aglow with enthusiasm under the banner of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, carried away by his chivalrous regard for the difficulties of John Bull, was comparatively silent, though fully sympathetic. I am sure, if to-morrow the way to the national freedom is to lie through the Reformed Councils, Mr. Gandhi would disdain to go there and would very likely retire to his *Ashram* at Sabarmati. On the other hand, Mr. Tilak would have been in the Councils at the head of the militant Congressmen fighting every inch of the ground with his ready, resourceful and astute brain. In fact, the intellectual and moral leadership of Mr. Tilak had immense possibilities. Born three hundred years ago, he would have been the Shivajee of the Mahratta people ; Mr. Gandhi would have contented himself with becoming a Ramdas. Born a hundred years hence,

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Mr. Tilak would be the President of the United States of India ; Mr. Gandhi, if at all he cares to join the public movement, would be the gentlest but most uncompromising opponent of capitalism. To take yet one instance more, in the 8th century, Mr. Tilak would have been the Shankaracharya of those times, driving Buddhism out of India with all the weapons of his wonderful scholarship. Mr. Gandhi, instead of fighting intellectually, would have assimilated in his character the noblest features of Buddhism and Neo-Hinduism. There is no limit to the *roles* Mr. Tilak would have played ; Mr. Gandhi's parts would be few. It is impossible to think of him as we can think of Mr. Tilak, as the foreign minister of India. What, however, Mr. Tilak gains in breadth and variety, Mr. Gandhi does in depth and intensity. Hitherto there has been no political worker who has fought with spiritual weapons. To Mr. Gandhi politics is the hand-maid of spirituality ; with Mr. Tilak, the case was perhaps, the reverse. There has been, I think, no fighter in the political world in modern times who has never used a single angry word. Mr. Tilak's love of strong language is well-known. He never hit below the belt but he gave his opponent no quarter. Mr. Gandhi's political language has always been the language of a Buddha or a Christ. Every word he utters has a " blessing behind it and a peace before it." It is an honour to the Bureaucracy that their foremost opponent is a moral and spiritual giant. Mr. Tilak's leadership was hard-earned and challenged at every step, while that of Mr. Gandhi can be described in the language of Cæsar. " I came, I saw, I conquered." In his South African

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struggles, where Mr. Gandhi forged his spiritual weapons, he was the unquestioned leader of a small group of Indians, nobly, though hopelessly, trying to assert their manhood ; when he returned to India, to his own province, the throne of political leadership was empty. His leadership of the Non-co-operation propoganda, too, is absolute and he has no second. Mr. Tilak had continuously to struggle against a strong combination of leaders from whose views he differed. In the very beginning of his political career, in the early nineties, he had to put up a strong fight against such stalwarts as Ranade, Telang, Mehta and Bhandarkar, while the second rank of leaders too, contained such brilliant personalities as Messrs. Agarkar and Chandavarkar. In the essentially spiritual fight of to-day, the brilliant galaxy of intellectual leaders has to sit at the feet of the towering spiritual personality of Mr. Gandhi, and the only leader who possessed in a pre-eminent degree that spiritual spark which has made Mr. Gandhi invincible has, unfortunately for Mr. Gandhi and for us all, passed away on the fateful first of August 1920 !

The general run of political workers, all over the world, have so little to say to humanity at large. To suffering, struggling and questioning humanity, they have no message ; what little they teach is only indirectly, as a result of the better part of their activities. Their minds are insular and cannot leave the usual groove of thoughts. Their time is not their own, the dust and heat of controversy is distracting and destructive of concentration. It is not therefore surprising that so few of the Indian leaders have to say something new, something worth hearing on the pro-

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blems of humanity. So far as I know, it is only Mrs. Besant, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Arabindo Ghose who have given us their outlook on some of the questions, confronting mankind. We may leave the names of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Ghose as not bearing upon our subject here. While, both Tilak and Gandhi have delivered their message to mankind, each has done so in a characteristic way. Mr. Tilak's message is general; Mr. Gandhi's is particular. With his intellectual sweep, Mr. Tilak absorbed in his own brain the culture of the East and the West and has given us the gospel of his *Karma Yoga*. Mr. Gandhi has put all the institutions and leading thoughts of the modern civilization to the touch-stone of his truthful, pure, and loving heart and has condemned them as grossly material. To the nations madly careering after the senses, Mr. Tilak cries 'Halt' and bids them look inward. Mr. Gandhi also, would stop them and tell them to reform their life and institutions. Mr. Tilak gives them the key to introspection and self-elevation in 'work without motive;' Mr. Gandhi calls upon them to destroy the machine-made, machine-dependant and machine-making soul-less civilization and on its ruins build a purer, grander and simpler life. The intellectual boldness of Mr. Tilak enabled him to free himself from the shackles of all commentators and study the message of Lord Krishna at first hand; while the moral intrepidity of Mr. Gandhi throws away all cant and book-lore and having unfalteringly examined each detail of modern life and civilization, accepts or rejects it, according as it agrees with his basic ideals. In the enforced leisure at Mandalay, Mr. Tilak has given

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his message that intellectual setting, without which; no message, however grand, can be expected to last permanently; happy would be the day when some follower of Mr. Gandhi would present his master's thoughts with all the intellectual paraphernalia of science, economics and sociology.

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CHAPTER XXV

GENERAL REFLECTIONS

We can sacrcely express the admiration which we feel for a mind so great and at the same time so healthy and well-proportioned, so willingly contracting itself to the humblest duties, so easily expanding itself to the highest, so contended in repose so powerful in action. Every part of this virtuous and blameless life is not hidden from us in modest privacy is a splendid-portion of our national history.

Macaulay on John Hampden

THE playground of Eton might have trained up the conqueror of Napoleon ; but it is characteristic either of the circumstances in India or of our college-life or of both, that Mr. Tilak owed absolutely nothing to his *alma mater*. None of his fellow-students or professors could foretell his future career; none size up the vast potentialities of the man. To most of his fellow-students, Mr. Tilak,---Mr. Blunt, as they preferred to call him—appeared as a young man of rather extra-ordinary abilities but certainly not of extra-ordinary ambition or application, extremely obstinate, somewhat domineering, simple and kind-hearted. Even to Ranade, the most observant man of the time, the memorable 1st of January 1880 appeared only to usher in the second stage of our public life. Even he, scarcely realized that a dynamic personality had appeared in the stagnant waters of our national life,—a personality

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that was destined to measure its strength with all others and ultimately to triumph over them all. The progress of Mr. Tilak was challenged at every step. On the one hand, there was a strong body of Liberal and Moderate leaders—Ranade, Mehta, Telang, Wacha, Bhandarkar, to name only a few—and on the other the vast forces of the powerful Bureaucracy despotically ruling over the land. Alternately, simultaneously, Mr. Tilak knocked the one or the other. He, in his turn, received blows at every step, at every turn. Sometimes, it appeared as if, he was done for, that he had ceased to count as a factor in public life and would be required to recede, crest-fallen, into the background. Defeat after defeat was inflicted upon him, and on many occassions, it appeared that the epitaph on his career could be written. But sphinx-like, he arose out of the ashes of every defeat more and more powerful until at last his opponents, deserted, defeated and confounded had to make room for him.

To fight with practically all the foremost men of one's time and with an extremely powerful bureaucracy to boot, one must be nothing less than a dare-devil—in the noblest and best sense of the term. Even to attempt such a fight is creditable; to do it with effect is still more so and to win laurels therein is reserved only for a rare hero. It was even so with Mr. Tilak. The equipment with which Mr. Tilak commenced his life-work was immense. His genius was of the highest order. Its most distinguished feature was originality. Readers of his *Gita Rahasya* marvel at the calm assurance with which he quietly sets aside the authority and traditional interpretations of the last two thousand years.

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To the study of the *Gita*, Mr. Tilak brought a mind untrammelled by tradition, undeterred by authority and unrestrained by expediency. So in every department of life and thought—politics included—his genius must run its course, heedless of tradition, authority or expediency. It was absolutely impossible for his fiery and passionate spirit as also for his restless and original mind to acquiesce in the easy-going, desultory and irresolute public life of the day. Where would it lead us? What was its goal? Will these widow-marriages and all that make men of us? Will they break the bonds of foreign domination that has enchained and well-nigh paralyzed us? To him British Government was an evil—to be tolerated, to be made the best of, but after-all an evil, which has crushed us politically, socially, industrially, and spiritually. Therein he saw no "Divine dispensation of an inscrutable Providence." Two generations of educated Indians had been lauding, with a rare exception, the greatness of our English "deliverers"; Mr. Tilak refused to dance to the tune. Two generations of educated Indians had swallowed all the sneers and gibes at Indian society in which the English officials and missionaries indulged; far from uttering a word of protest, the English-educated Indians had based their programme of Social Reform on that condemnation. Mr. Tilak could not agree with them. Two generations of educated Indians had pinned their faith on the benevolence, righteousness and humanity of the present rulers of India; Mr. Tilak, gifted with a more correct perception of the state of things relied more on the people than on the conquerors, for the great consummation of all our ambitions; and the man, who

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rejected the authority of all the Acharyas in the interpretation of the *Gita*, the man who rejected the reasoning of all European scholars with regard to the antiquity of the *Vedas* and the cradle of the Aryan civilisation—this same man rejected methods of Ranade, Telang, Mandlik, Bhau Daji and all the time-honoured leaders of the people and struck out a new path in public life.

To challenge in this way the work of two generations, requires a degree of no ordinary courage. To strike out a new path in the public life almost in opposition to the previous generation requires vision of the first order; and the peculiar path selected by Mr. Tilak called for self-sacrifice of the highest degree. Mr. Tilak rushed into the arena of national activities fully gifted with this vision, courage and self-sacrifice. Another man was there, Mr. Tilak's peer in every quality of the head and heart—Vishnushastri Chiploonkar. Another man yet, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, a smaller chip of the same block. His broken health and strained circumstances, later on somewhat altered the angle of Agarkar's vision. But throughout his eventful life, Mr. Tilak was found equal to any sacrifice, a match for any misfortune. He took up the work of national uplift in true Jesuitical spirit. Utter renunciation was his watchword. He even regretted that his father should have got him married; and now that he was a married man, he must seek for 'maintenance allowance;' but barring that, every pie he would get would belong to his country. The life-long simplicity of Mr. Tilak's dress and living was due to this vow of poverty; and the purity of his life—so conspicuously and deservedly recognised by all his contemporaries—instinctive

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at first, was fortified by his gradual gaining in spiritual stature.

It will thus be seen that the moral and intellectual outlook with which Mr. Tilak started his career was essentially novel and was destined to bring about nothing less than a revolution in the public life of the country. The older generation of leaders, however, had a merry time of it for the next eleven years owing to Mr. Tilak's long diversion and total absorption in the New English School and the Fergusson College. Three great *idolas*—to use a Baconian expression—had seized hold of the public mind in India during the last sixty years and diverted the nation from pursuing its first duty,—freedom from foreign domination. To-day we recognize that there can be no National Education without a National Government. We now realise that there can be no true Social Reform without and before political reform. We have learnt to our cost that there can be no regeneration of the national industries unless and until political power is wrested from the representatives of foreign capitalists. Education, Social Reform, Industrial Development—all must wait and make room for political reform. But about 1880 people thought differently; and so Ranade ran after the lure of Social Reform, Tilak and Agarkar attempted to start National Education, Kunte and others tried to introduce western industries in the unmanured soil of our country. The attempts failed to achieve the intended result. To be sure, a certain amount of progress did result; but at what cost? Mr. Tilak's dedication of eleven years to a school and a college may have made him a bit less idealistic and more conversant with men

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and affairs. It may have enabled him to equip himself the better for the mission of his life. But at the same time, we must not forget, that he lost eleven precious years of political leadership. Eleven years! and to a man like Mr. Tilak! What a world of difference it would have made! As it was, when lesser men were dominating the public life, and moulding the national will, Mr. Tilak was busy teaching Statistics and Astronomy, Sanskrit and Science to college students, figting all the while with the ever-growing clique which ultimately threw him out. In the first Session of the Indian National Congress, the first resolution was moved by the late Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, born in 1856, the year of Mr. Tilak's birth; while he, Mr. Tilak was at Poona shaping the infant college into life and strength. It is impossible and at the same time idle to discuss the possibilities, had Mr. Tilak started life as the sole editor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. But it is just possible that in his pursuit of what proved to be a phantom, the process of galvanizing the Congress and the public life of the country was delayed by a decade.

Within the walls of the school and the college, soon after their existence was assured, a struggle awaited Mr. Tilak which gave a rude shock to his innate idealism. It was a struggle between a great man and comparatively small men, between idealism and worldly wisdom, between unbending adherence to the original understanding and the demands of worldly ease. These differences were probably aggravated by the introduction of personal element. There is no thought more humiliating to ordinary minds than the growing consciousness that the man, whom in school or in college we re-

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garded more or less as an equal, stands head and shoulder over us and extorts greater, more ardent homage from the world at large. It is not impossible that such an element found its way into the otherwise noble heart of Agarkar, who generally led the opposition against Mr. Tilak; and when such a paragon of sacrifice raised the issues, need we wonder that Apte joined him, Apte, who at the very time of joining the Society is said to have stipulated for relaxation with respect to the original agreement about extra income? The cry was catching and was taken up by others, even by Mr. Gokhale whose ardent love of the Motherland and sterling sacrifices in her cause are well known. Then came the differences of opinions with regard to Social Reform on which Mr. Agarkar was so keen; and they are supposed to have accelerated the breach. It is also just possible that the party led by Ranade might have been led, by instincts of self-preservation, to exploit the already delicate situation and utilise the discontented element in the Deccan Education Socity for the enhancement of its prestige, which since 1880 had been steadily dwindling. For eleven long years, Mr. Tilak had been trying to enlist the active sympathy or patronage of all that was best, most thoughtful, most influential in the Bombay Presidency in the cause of the Society; what must have been his disappointment and mrotification to find that after all this laborious fabric had been erected, ensuring the permanent existence and the prosperity of the institution, he was made to feel that he was no longer required and that for his own peace he had better walk away? Had the majority of the members been grateful even by a tittle for the construc-

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tive and organizing work done by Mr. Tilak, when most of them were nobodies, they would not, like rebellious children, have stooped to pass a vote of censure upon the father of the institution. The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye might find it convenient to ridicule the public which sympathised with Mr. Tilak on the occasion of his retirement from the Society, but the public was not far in the wrong and Mr. Tilak was really the victim of incessant intrigues aimed mainly at his downfall.

When, in 1890, Mr. Tilak left the D. E. Society, he found himself almost shunned by the *intelligentia* of Poona. A less courageous and enterprising man would not have survived this defeat. Nor were his opponents willing to let him alone. A most foolish, uncalled-for legislation was undertaken by the Government of India as a concession to the continual pressure brought upon them by the leading lights of Social Reform. Mr. Tilak opposed it tooth and nail but was prepared for a reasonable compromise. The turn-headed reformers, however, brooked no conciliation. Mr. Tilak was stigmatised as an incendiary, a destructive worker. The air was thick with his condemnation. Feelings ran so high that whatever was opposed by Mr. Tilak was liked and supported by his opponents. The Sharada Sadan, an institution conducted by a Christian lady, had begun to develop unhealthy features. The original compact was gradually being set aside, and Christianity insidiously sought to be preached. Mr. Tilak got scent of the matter. He raised a note of warning. At once like mad dogs, his opponents rushed at him, "Mr. Tilak was an enemy of female education!" "Cut him!" At last after more than one year of quibbling,

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shuffling and prevarication, the leaders of Social Reform had the decency to withdraw their support from the school which is now purely and avowedly a Christian institution. In spite of the cold shoulder that was given to him, in spite of the cold way in which he was made to understand that he was a busy-body, a mortal in the midst of gods, Mr. Tilak attended the annual sessions of the Social Conference and tried to infuse in them a more constructive and responsible spirit. But it was to no effect. A certain Rao Bahadur, a lieutenant of Ranade, openly declared that unless Mr. Tilak was dead, things would not work smoothly. This was too much for human nature to bear. Utterly disgusted with the autocratic and unthinking way in which the the Social Conference was conducted, Mr. Tilak left it and practically ceased taking interest in the work. But his opponents would not rest or give rest. At the time of the Poona Congress, in spite of the fact that Mr. Tilak had repeatedly declared through the *Kesari* and in the meetings of the working committee that the question of the loan of the Congress pavilion for the Social Conference should be decided by either Reception Committee or by the Congress itself, the cry was kept up that Mr. Tilak was an extremely narrow-minded and quarrelsome man and that he did not want the Social Conference to be held in the Congress pavilion. It is, after all, best to throw a pall over all these exhibitions of the good taste, decency and fair-play of his opponents ; but a little peep into them is necessary in order to understand the stupendous difficulties through and inspite of which Mr. Tilak single-handed had to deliver his message to the people.

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Nor were the Reformers and the Moderates the only opponents Mr. Tilak had to reckon. There was a powerful section of the Bureaucracy and its *proteges* of the Anglo-Indian Press whose hostility so often has proved a fruitful source of trouble to Mr. Tilak. The success of the New English School had given a headache to the *Times of India*, and in the establishment of an innocent school patronized by men like Ranade, Telang and Mandlik, it foresaw unpleasant results. The tone of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* was regarded as unfriendly to their interests by the Government. When in 1890, Mr. Tilak took an attitude of opposition to the Age of Consent Bill, the *Times of India* inquired how it was that such a man could be or remain a member of an institution like the Deccan Education Society ; and then with a sigh of relief and a chuekling sense of satisfaction, Principal Apte wrote a rejoinder declaring that Mr. Tilak was no longer a member of the Society. Three years rolled on, years in which Mr. Tilak was bringing upon himself the wrath of vested interests. Then came the Hindu-Mahomedan riots ; the sky was thick with the dust of controversies ; and Mr. Tilak, without mincing matters, again and again declared that the policy of favouritism inaugurated by a certain section of the Bureaucracy was responsible for all the mischief that was going on for well-nigh two years. This was bearding the lion, rudely and unceremoniously. How boldly and uncompromisingly Mr. Tilak expressed his views on this ' Divide and Rule ' policy can be appreciated only by a study of all the soft speeches of the so-called leaders of those times. Even the late Sir Pherozeshah, Tribune of the people

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that he was, gave utterance to the right view in the mildest and most guarded language. If ever a leader delivered his message through storm and stress, thunder and lightening, obloquy and persecutions, it was Mr. Tilak; and delivered under such circumstances, it derived a meaning, it commanded a respect which otherwise mere abilities or learning would not have brought it. It is only the man who swims against the current and not the one who swims with it, who deserves praise; and Mr. Tilak lived to gain this due.

In the earlier years of his career, Mr. Tilak's public activities were regarded as merely destructive by those whose influence and methods he had challenged. Let us see what Mr. Tilak did during the fifteen years since he measured swords with Ranade and Telang. He carried the message of the Congress to the smallest and most distant hamlet in Maharashtra; he spread broadcast the teachings of Western liberalism, of Western democracy. He opened the eyes of the people to their terrible condition—stark poverty and utter bondage. He held before their eyes the vision of the great ideal,—*Swaraj*. He called upon them to work hard and sacrifice their very best. He told them not to be deluded by the words of the so-called Reformers who never tired of calling them weak. He accustomed them to look back to the past and draw therefrom inspiration for the work of the present. He taught them to watch the administration of the day with vigilance. He trained them up in organised opposition. He showed them by personal example how to suffer for one's convictions and one's country. If all this be destructive work, Mr. Tilak loses nothingby being called a "destruc-

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tive force." Only one should like to know what "constructive" work means.

When the pantalooned orators of the National Congress were in vain making passionate appeals to the Government, Mr. Tilak had already pinned his faith on the people. His gospel of *Swaraj* formed a refreshing contrast to the petty demands formulated from time to time by the National Congress. No doubt the festival of Shivaji was a provoincial affair wherein only the Hindus could participate. Still it did greater national service in Maharashtra during the nineties than the Congress itself. The methods of the national body were outlandish and hence ineffective, uninspiring and unpopular. The Congress stood for the glorification of the British Rule, while the Shivaji festival took the peoples' minds back to that period when the slogan of *Swaraj* was reverberating throughout the length and breadth of the land. This powerful appeal to a glorious past, together with the lessons of courage and self-sacrifice which it inculcated did in those days greater service to Western India than the National Congress. Owing to its inherent limitations, the Shivaji festival could not, of course, usurp the functions of the Congress even in Maharashtra. The festival, however, stands as a symbol of Mr. Tilak's methods of awakening and organizing the people and did exceptionally valuable political work supplementary to that of the Congress.

Mr. Tilak's strenuous efforts to awaken the people together with the organized opposition he led in the famine and plague agitations excited the liveliest apprehension in the minds of some officials and a moment of panic was seized upon to put him down. The prosecu-

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tion of Mr. Tilak in 1897 was the first serious attempt of the Bureaucracy to secure the silence of a "troublesome" agitator. So weak were the traditions of our public life, that Mr. Tilak's persistence in braving the ire of an inflamed officialdom was regarded almost as an act of madness and great pressure was brought to induce him to apologize. A similar attempt made (1892) to save a Calcutta newspaper from the operations of 124A by a belated apology had been criticized by Mr. Tilak and he was not a man to set up one standard of conduct for others and quite another for himself. He cheerfully went to gaol rather than bend his knee before the powers that be. The terrors of gaol could not cow him down, nor did the actual prison-life with its nauseating food and fatiguing work. Though he came out of the portals of the Yeravda gaol a broken man, his spirit was as unbending as ever and after a few months of rest and recuperation, he took up the threads of his public activities, unhampered by the reactionary regime of Lord Curzon, undeterred by the machinations of his enemies in the Tai Maharaj Case.

A great man never suffers without gaining in spiritual strength; and the sufferings of Mr. Tilak in the Tai Maharaj case were proverbial. In the earlier stages of this case, there were occasions when Mr. Tilak's clouds were unredeemed by any "silver lining', when expressions of hope would have sounded as nothing but "hollow mockery or premature consolations." But he refused to be disheartened by the manifold odds against him. The mighty resources of a prejudiced Bureaucracy, coupled with the endless scheming of unscrupulous enemies failed to shake his faith in the

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justice and invincibility of his cause. Even when he was sentenced to imprisonment on a charge of perjury, handcuffed like a common felon and sent to jail, cheerfulness and equanimity never left him.

To all appearances, Mr. Tilak, when he emerged (1904) triumphant out of the first stage of the Tai Maharaj case, was the same man,a bit worried and distracted, who was drawn into its vortex in 1900. But a subtle spiritual change had come over him which enhanced his prestige and power in the anti-Partition agitation of which he was to be one of the foremost leaders. Prior to 1904, Mr. Tilak's speeches and writings were merely intellectual. There was of course a background of spirituality which we notice in his career since the very beginning. But the personality was pronouncedly intellectual. His speeches and writings arrested attention, extorted admiration and roused enthusiasm by the ruthless logic of a trained intellectual gladiator ; but there was no consciousness of Faith in Divine guidance in them. The veritable ordeal of the Tai Maharaj Case, however, immensely contributed to his spiritual growth. From a patriot, he was now transformed into a prophet.

While the fortunes of Mr. Tilak were apparently in the melting pot, his supposed rival, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale was rising from one pinnacle of glory to another. The careers of these two great Mahratta Brahmins suggest a series of interesting reflections. Both started life as school-masters. Both dedicated their all to the service of the Motherland. Both took to public life in true missionary spirit. Both were distinguished educationists, professors of a very high order ;—Mr. Gokhale,

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studious, copious and methodical, Mr. Tilak, versatile, profound and original. Both took to journalism in the early nineties. Mr. Tilak remained an editor till the end of his life. Mr. Gokhale gave up journalism after less than half a dozen years' apprenticeship, laboured at Statistics and became an enthusiastic student of Economics and Politics. Mr. Gokhale's training and equipment led him to the Councils and he attained reputation as the first Councillor in India. Mr. Tilak devoted his energy to the cause of journalism and became the premier editor in the country. Mr. Gokhale came to be a great favourite with the Moderate leaders. Mr. Tilak founded a new school of political thought of which he was the undisputed and most influential leader. Mr. Gokhale's politics and opportunities made him a *persona grata* with the Indian Bureaucracy and the English politicians. Mr. Tilak's methods or fate led him into bitter opposition with the Bureaucracy and landed him into trouble and jail. Mr. Gokhale's path was swept clean even by highly-placed officials. Mr. Tilak's course, on the contrary, was often rendered thorny by Bureaucratic ire. Mr. Gokhale's mission in life was to be the awakener of the Bureaucratic conscience; Mr. Tilak's was to rouse the soul of his countrymen.

Till the end of his brilliant career, Mr. Gokhale could never overcome the struggle between his inborn enthusiasm and innate caution. His enthusiasm landed him into difficulties from which his caution hardly extricated him ; on the contrary, his caution sometimes got the better of his enthusiasm and made him take positions, his better nature would never have allowed him to do.

He lacked personality and forcefulness. The influence of a strong-willed colleague was often responsible for his inconsistencies. Then we must not forget the dizzy height which he had ascended. Courted by Cabinet Ministers, trusted and flattered by the Bureaucracy, Mr. Gokhale was in a peculiar position during the eventful years of the anti-Partition movement. His own enthusiasm drew him in one direction, his Moderate associates to another, while the English and Anglo-Indian officials pulled him quite in a contrary direction; and Mr. Gokhale's politics reveals the evident struggle to keep his balance between these contending forces.

With Mr. Tilak the case was different. As he never aspired to win the applause at once of the populace, of the Beuraucracy and the ministers at 'home', his line of conduct during the eventful years just preceding his last and longest incarceration was uniformly consistent. There are those who sneer at his alliance with the Bengal 'Extremists', which, they argue, led him to adopt measures and preach opinions, which, left to himself, he would never have done. One may reply this criticism by counter-criticism. The Moderates of Bengal and the Moderates of Bombay had a world of difference between them and though the Moderate leaders of Bombay had not the courage to oppose the resolution on National Education at Calcutta (Dec. 1906), still they did not hesitate to oppose that same resolution in the next Provincial Conference at Surat (May 1907). Is not this inconsistency? When the Congress had passed resolutions on Swadeshi and Boycott, when the Hon. Mr. Gokhale himself was warmly advocating the cause of Bengal and the strong measures adopted there to

give a home-thrust to our callous rulers, Congressmen and Moderate newspapers were found to ridicule, 'Honest Swadeshi' and 'economic boycott'. The circumstances of Bengal were such that it was impossible for the harassed, persecuted and well-nigh desperate Bengalis to believe in the advent of a day when Britain would make us their equal partners. Naturally the Bengalis began to look to independence as their ultimate ideal, an ideal, be it remembered, which the Indian law-courts and the then Secretary of State found nothing to find fault with. Was it Mr. Tilak's fault that when some of his Indian and Anglo-Indian opponents began to stamp the ideal of independence as illegal, he rushed to the rescue of his Bengali friends? Did not Sir Surendranath himself allow an amendment to the Self-Government Resolution at the Pubna Conference (1908) wherein, the Nationalists did affirm their faith in independence as the ultimate goal to be achieved? So the 'inconsistency' of Mr. Tilak amounts to this, that knowing Maharashtra to be not quite ready for this higher ideal, he preached in Western India "Colonial Self-Government" as the political ideal, though in view of certain mischievous attacks, he felt bound to draw the sword in defence of the theoretically perfect ideal of independence.

The one work, which Mr. Tilak set himself to do with his phenomenal energies, was to rouse the moral and intellectual courage of the people. Where, as in Bengal, circumstances considerably helped the process of this awakening, he did his best to prevent it from disaster by a reckless extravagance which defeats its own end. To rouse the latent moral and intellectual nature

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of the people is comparatively easy; to divert it in constructive channels is difficult; there the vested interests, so firmly established try their best to knock down every effort at organization. In the initial stages, infant democracy has to fight not only with the rulers of the land, but also with the intellectual, industrial and other magnates in the country. It is in fact a struggle between those who are supposed to have a stake in the land and those who have not. Is it wonderful that this unholy alliance between money, Government and intelligence should succeed, though for a time, in crushing the leaders of the *proletariat?* The struggle at Surat was really a fight between the old aristocracy on the one hand and the infant democracy on the other; and looking to the vastness of the issues involved, it is but natural that matters thus came to a crisis.

The dazzling splendour of Mr. Tilak's activities after the Surat breach shows how an accomplished leader can defy a tacit alliance between the old aristocracy and the alien Bureaucracy. But it is humanly impossible for *any* leader to guarantee perfect peace in the rank and file when the tyranny of the Government inflames people beyond measure. The bomb-thrower at Muzafferpore was out, not only to harm the Government but the Nationalist party as well; and he created the same muddle in Indian politics which Shakespeare's Puck in the Midsummer Nights Dream did in the even course of love between two young men and women. Mr. Tilak knew full well that a strong effort would be made to sweep his movement out. He, therefore, called his principal colleagues in Western

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India, and issued a statement deploring the outrages and suggesting ways and means for their prevention. But the Bureaucracy was apparently bent on putting down the Nationalists. Mr. Tilak was arrested and within a month was sent away to Ahmedabad and Mandalay; he got an opportunity, however, to declare in solemn tones a warning that repression, though temporarily successful, would only strengthen the cause he was fighting for.

And he proved a true prophet; while he was at Mandalay, alternating his time between Religion, Philosophy, History and Mathematics, the surviving party of the Moderates tried its best to take full advantage of the Morley-Minto Reforms, as also of the inactivity of its opponents. But it quickly realized the truth, Mr. Tilak had repeatedly uttered that the Moderate could expect a little favour only when the Extremist was in the field. The Moderates were quickly disillusioned and were ready to ask for another 'boon'; the Moslems, who had accustomed them selves to be considered as the special favourites of Government, had been exasperated by the attitude of England in the Turko-Balkan and the Turko-Italian wars. Even Mrs. Besant, hitherto somewhat indifferent to Indian politics, had taken a plunge into the arena of our public life.

It speaks much for Mr. Tilak's elasticity of mind that soon after his return (1914) from Mandalay he took in the situation almost at a glance. Being always accustomed to place his country's interests above everything else, he was prepared to forget and forgive not only his Moderate opponents but even the

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incorrigible Bureaucrats. To placate the Moderates and the Government he made a declaration of his loyalty,—a declaration which created hopes in the mind of Mrs. Besant of Congress compromise. The outbreak of War found him a staunch ally of the Government. He offered any kind of help he could. But neither the autocrats of the Congress nor those in the Government were willing to grasp the outstretched hand of friendship.

The events of the last six years and Mr. Tilak's glorious part therein are too fresh in the reader's mind to need any reiteration. These crowded years of public life form the noblest page of Mr. Tilak's life. It is a period when he emerges triumphant over his opponents. It is a time when we see him, not, as in 1889-1905—a brave soldier, hopelessly fighting against tremendous odds, not, as in 1905-1908, a party leader trying to force his way through columns of opposition, but an all-India leader, a tactful negotiator, a skilled diplomat, a far-seeing statesman, an all-wise prophet. We see the constructive side of his work in all its splendour. We see him brave as yore, assertive as before, but with a mellow splendour which refined and softened the sternness of his dominating personality.

Such a leadership is the accident of a century! How lucky for India then, that no sooner did the Lokamanya expire, than his place has been conspicuously filled up by Mahatma Gandhi, whose unapproachable sanctity has raised politics to the height of religion. The leadership of the Lokamanya was pronouncedly intellectual and that of the

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Mahatma is essentially spiritual. In both, however, there is an element of grandeur which reminds us of the following memorable words of another equally great patriot, Arabindo Ghose:

> I am the lord of the tempest and the mountain,
> I am the spirit of freedom and pride,
> Stark he must be a Kinsman to danger
> Who shares my kingdom and walks by my side.

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APPENDIX A

THE ORION

(Appendix A and B will give the reader an idea of the principal arguments advanced by Mr. Tilak in the *Orion* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* to establish his theories. The *Gita-Rahasya* being comparatively a recent production is too well-known to require any summary.)

Oriental scholars have advanced vague and uncertain conjectures about the age and character of the Vedas. Prof. Max Muller has divided the Vedic literature into four arbitrary periods, the Chhandas, Mantra, Brahmana and Sutra and by assigning two hundred years for each period he arrives at about 1200 B.C. *as the latest date* at which the Vedic hymns have been composed. As opposed to this linguistic method of ascertaining the age of the Vedas, there is the astronomical method which though condemned by European scholars as inaccurate and conjectural, can, if properly applied, lead us to good results. The Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Sutras contain numerous allusions and references to astronomical facts. There are several sacrificial hymns in the Rig-veda. Now, no sacrificial system could be developed without the knowledge of months, seasons and the year. It appears that the Vedic Rishis kept up their calender by performing the corresponding round of sacrifices on the

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sacred fire that constantly burnt in their houses ; and as they were not only the sacrificers of the community but were also its time-keepers, these two functions appear to have blended into one by assigning the commencement of the several sacrifices to the leading days of the year on the natural ground that if the sacrifices were to be performed, they must be performed on the principal days of the year. *Samvatsara* and *Yajna* therefore came to be regarded as convertible terms.

Let us now examine the principal parts of the year *alias* the sacrifice. The *Savana* or the civil day, as its etymology shows, was selected as the natural unit of time. 30 such days made a month and 12 such months or 360 *Savana* days made a year. Now, a month of 30 civil or *savana* days cannot correspond with a lunar synodical month and so a day in some of the *Savana* months was required to be omitted to secure the concurrence of the civil and lunar months. The year of 360 Savana days was thus practically reduced to a lunar year of 354 civil days or 360 *tithis*. But a further correction was necessary to adjust the lunar with the solar reckoning of time. The commencement of the cycle of the seasons was, therefore, the only means to correct the calender and the ancient Aryans hit upon the device of the intercalary days or month for the purpose.

It appears that the early Vedic priests were ignorant of the motion of the equinoxes. The early Aryans must have determined the position of the sun in the ecliptic by observing, every morning, the fixed star nearest to it. Under such system, the year would naturally be over when the sun returned to the

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same fixed star. The solar year, therefore, mentioned in the Vedic works, must be considered as sidereal and not tropical. The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20.4 minutes which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in about every two thousand years. When these changes came to be noticed for the first time they caused surprise and were regarded as foretelling some great calamity.

Another important point, relevent to our purpose is when the year commenced. The *Vedanga-Jyotish* makes the year (and Uttarayana) commence with the winter-solstice. But a closer examination shows that the winter-solstice could not have been the original beginning of the annual sacrifices(and therefore of the year). The middle day of the annual *Satra* is called the *Vishnuvan* day and as *Vishnuvan* literally means the time when day and night are of equal length, if we suppose the year to have commenced with the winter solstice, the Vishnuvan or the equinoctial day could never have been its central day. If *Vishnuvan* was the central day of the year, the year must have once commenced with the equinoxes. We may, therefore, take *Uttarayana* to mean " the passage of the sun into the northern hemisphere, *i.e.*, to the north of the equator ; and thus we can say that the *Uttarayana* and the year must have commenced with the Vernal equinox. While describing the *Devayana* and *Pitriyana*, the Shatapatha Brahmana (ii-1-3-3), lays it down in distinct terms that Vasanta, Grishma and Varsha were the seasons of the Devas. It is impossible therefore to maintain that the Devayana or the Uttarayana ever commenced with the winter-solstice, for in

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neither hemisphere the winter-solstice marks the beginning of the spring, the first of the Deva seasons. It is difficult to definitely ascertain the time when the commencement of the year was changed from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice. When this change was made, *Uttarayana* must have gradually come to denote the first half of the new year, *i.e.*, the period from the winter to the summer solstice especially as the word was capable of being understood as " turning towards the North from the Southern-most point."

All our present calenders are prepared on the supposition that the Vernal equinox still coincides with the end of Revati and our enumeration of the Nakshatras begins with Ashvini, though the equinox has now receded about 18° from Revati. This position of the Vernal equinox was true at about 490 A.D. when probably the present system was introduced. Let us now see if we can trace back the position of the Vernal equinox amongst the fixed circle of stars. From Varahamihira, we know that before the Hindus began to make their measurements from the Vernal equinox in Revati, there existed a system in which the year commenced with the winter solstice in the month of Magha and the Vernal equinox was in the last quarter of Bharani or the beginning of the Krittikas. The Vedanga-Jyotish, the oldest astronomical work in Sanskrit, gives the following positions of the solstice and the equinoxes :—

(1) The winter solstice in the beginning of Shravishtha (divisional).

(2) The Vernal equinox in 10° of Bharani.

(3) The summer solstice in the middle of Ashlesha.

(4) The autumnal equinox in 3° 20′ of Vishakha.

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From these data, astronomers have calculated that the solstitial colure occupied the above position between 1269 B.C. to 1181 B.C. There are many passages in the Taittiriya Samhita and the Taittiriya Brahmana where the Krittikas occupy the first place in the list of the Nakshatras. We must, therefore, presume that the Vernal equinox coincided with the Krittikas when the Taittiriya Samhita was compiled. The Taittiriya Brahmana (i 5, 2, 7) says that the Nakshatras are the houses of Gods and that the Nakshatras of the Devas begin with the Krittikas. The Shatapatha Brahmana expressly states that the Sun was to be considered as moving amongst and protecting the Devas, when he turned to the North, in the three seasons, of spring, summer and rains. This, therefore, at once fixes the position of the Krittikas at the beginning of the Devayana or the vernal equinox at the time when these works were compiled. The Taittiriya Samhita expressly states that the winter solstice fell in Magha. From all these, we conclude that the Krittikas coincided with the Vernal equinox when the Taittiriya Samhita was compiled (2350 B.C.)

The passage in the Taittiriya Samhita which states that the winter solstice fell in Magha also refers to the Phalguni full-moon and the Chitra full-moon as the first days of the year. Now as evidently there can't be real beginnings of the year at an interval of one month each, the passage must be understood as recording a tradition about these two full-moon days being once considered as the first days of the year. If the year commenced with winter solstice with the Phalguni full-moon, the Vernal equinox must have been

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in the *Mrigashiras* (Orion) The word Agrhaayani (Syn. for Mrigashiras), suggests the same tale. With the Vernal equinox near the asterism of Mrigashiras, the autumnal equinox would be in Mula which was so called because its acronycal rising marked the commencement of the year. Again with the winter solstice occuring on the Phalguni full-moon day, the summer solstice fell on the Bhadrapadi full moon so that the dark half of Bhadrapada was the first fortnight in the Pitriyana, understood as commencing on the summer solstice. On no other hypothesis can the dedication of the dark half of Bhadrapada to the Pitris be satisfactorily explained.

When the Vernal equinox was in Orion it was the beginning of the Devayana and as the constellation is remarkable for its brilliancy and attractiveness, the ancient Aryans may have been naturally influenced not merely to connect their old traditions with it but also to develop them on the same lines. Thus the Devayana and the Pitriyana, as representing the two hemispheres must be joined and the Vernal and the autumnal equinoxes became the natural points of union between the regions of Gods and Yama. The equinoxes were in fact the gates, of heaven and as such it was natural to suppose that they were watched by dogs (Canis Major and Canis Miror). In the later Indian literature we are told that the souls of the deceased have to cross a stream before they reach the region of Yama which we can easily identify with the Milky Way which could then have been appropriately described as separating the regions of Gods and Yama, the Devayana and the Pritriyana or the Northern and the Southern hemisphere.

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Later, it is actually called the celestial river and we are further told that the land of the blessed is to be reached by " the celestial ship with a good rudder." We can satisfactorily account for these legends by supposing that the Vernal equinox was near the Dog-star in those days just near the Milky Way.

There is another set of traditions which can be similarly explained on the supposition with which we have started, *viz.*, the Vernal equinox was then in Orion. The heliacal rising of the constellation at the beginning of the year marked the revival of nature at the commencement of spring and the asterism may thus be said to represent all these milder influences which in later mythology were fully embodied in the conception of Vishnu. But the case was completely reversed if we take the acronycal rising of the same. It was at the autumnal equinox that the Dog-star rose at the beginning of night and though strictly speaking it marked the end of Varsha,yet the portion of the heaven wherein the constellation is situated could have been easily regarded as the battle-ground of Indra and Vritra, who fought in those days and also as the stage on which the terrible Rudra made his appearance. On this same hypothesis we can explain how Vritra came to be stationed at the gates of hell. Indra cut off the head of Vritra or Namuchi in the form of a Mriga and this at once suggests whether that head is not the same as that of Prajapati cut off by Rudra (Ardra or Sirius). The foamy weapon with which Indra killed Namuchi is nothing but a reference tot he Milky Way. The attributes of Rudra, chasing of the antelope, his bearing of the Ganges in his matted hair and fondness for the burning ground

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and appearance as a Kirata or hunter—all these can be accounted for by placing Rudra just below the Milky Way or the celestial Ganges at the gates of the Pitriyana and figured as a hunter. In Rig. X 192-2, *Samvatsara* or the year is said to rise out of the ocean, the place where Vritra was killed (Rig. X 68-12). Prajapati as represented by Orion may also be naturally supposed to commence the year when the Vernal equinox was in Orion. Rudra killed Prajapati (or Samavatsara or Yajna) at the beginning of the year and as Yajna also meant sacrifice, Rudra was later believed to have killed the sacrifice of Daksha. So then Vishnu, representing the happy times of Vasanta, Rudra presiding over storms and Prajapati, the deity of sacrifices—these three principal deities of the Hindu Mythology can be traced to and located in the part of heaven occupied by Orion when the Vernal equinox was there. Later writers have described this Trinity as represented by the three-headed Dattatraya, followed by the Vedas in the forms of dogs, and from what has been written above, there can be no difficulty in identifying this personified Trinity with Orion having three stars in the head and closely followed by the dog (canis) at its foot.

These and other traditions especially those of Ribhus and Vrishakapi strengthen the hypothesis of the traditional year-beginning on the Phalguni full moon. With the Phalguni full moon at the winter solstice, the Vernal equinox was in Mrigashiras; so with the Chitra full moon at the solstice, the Vernal equinox would be in Punarvasu. The presiding deity of Punarvasu is Aditi and we are told that Aditi had been blessed with a boon that all sacrifices must commence and end with

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her (Aitareya Brahmana 1-7 and the Taittiriya Samhita vi 1-5-1,). The story begins with the statement that the Sacrifice (the mysterious Sacrificial personage) went away from the Gods. The Gods were then unable to perform any further ceremonies, and did not know where it (the sacrifice) had gone to ; and it was Aditi that helped them in this state, to find out the proper commencement of the sacrifice. This clearly means that before this time sacrifices were performed at random, but it was at this time resolved and fixed to commence them from Aditi. Aditi was thus the oldest and rst commencement of the sacrifice or the year. In the Vajasaneyi Samhita 4-19 Aditi is said to be *Ubhayatah Shirshni* " double-headed " and the commentators interpret it to mean that the two termini of the sacrifice which began and ended with Aditi, are the two heads here alluded to. These traditions are further corroborated by the sacrificial ceremonies. According to the sacrificial terminology, the 4th day before Vishnuvan or the central day of the yearly Satra is called the Abhijit day. Now if Abhijit day be supposed to be named after the Nakshtra of that name (*i.e.* when the Sun is in Abhijit) then the Vishnuvan or the autumnal equinox must fall four days after the asterism of Abhijit ; and it can be shown by astronomical calculation that with Aditi or Punarvasu at the Vernal equinox to commence the sacrifice, we nearly get at the same result.

Therefore, the oldest period in the Aryan civilisation may be called the *Aditi* or the pre-Orion period and we may roughly assign 6000—4000 B.C. as its limits. Then there was the Orion period roughly extending

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from 4000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. from the time when the Vernal equinox was in the asterism of Ardra to the time when it receded to the asterism of the Krittkias. The third or the Krittika period commences with the Vernal equinox in the asterism of the Krittikas and extends up to the period recorded in the Vedanga-Jyotisha, *i.e.*, 2500 B.C. to 1400 B.C. and the fourth and last period of the old Sanskrit literature extends from 1400 B.C. to 500 B.C. or to the birth and rise of Buddhism which may be called the real-Pre Buddhistic period. It will thus be found that the antiquities of the Vedas can be traced up to a far remoter time than what Max Muller and other European scholars were willing to assign.

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APPENDIX B

Up to the middle of the 19th century, myths and traditions were the only materials available for the study of pre-historic man. So various attempts were made to systematise these myths and explain them rationally. But the mythologists carried on their researches at a time when man was believed to be post-glacial and when the physical and geographical surroundings of the ancient man were *assumed* not to have been materially different from those of the present day. But about the middle of the 19th century, from hundreds of stone and bronze implements found buried in various places in Europe, the archaeologists established the chronological sequence of the Iron, the Bronze and the Stone age in times preceding the historic period and discovered evidence to prove the existence of the Glacial period at the close of the Quarternary era and the high antiquity of man who was shown to have lived not only throughout the Quarternary but also in the Tertiary era when the climatic conditions of the globe were quite different from those in the present or Post-Glacial period. It, therefore, became evident that the results previously arrived at by philologists and mythologists must be revised in the light of new scientific discoveries. It also became necessary to study the ancient sacred books of the Aryans in the light of modern

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archaeological and geological discoveries; for if man existed before the last Glacial period and witnessed the gigantic change which brought on the Ice age, it is not unnatural to expect that a reference, howso ever concealed and distant, to these events would be found in the oldest traditionary beliefs and memories of mankind. If we read some of the passages in the Vedas, which have hitherto been considered incomprehensible, in the light of the new scientific discoveries, we are forced to the conclusion that the home of the ancestors of the Vedic people was somewhere near the North Pole before the last Glacial epoch.

Before proceeding to discuss the Vedic texts which point to a Polar Home, it is necessary to briefly state the results of recent discoveries in archaeology, geology and palaeontology. Human races of earlier times have left ample evidence of their existence on the surface of this globe. It consists of hundreds and thousands of rude or polished instruments of stone and metal, recently dug out from old camps, fortifications, burial-grounds. temples etc. Archaeologists have come to the conclusion that these implements can be classified into those of stone, those of bronze and those of iron, representing three different stages of civilisation in the progress of man in pre-historic times. Of these three different ages, the oldest or the Stone age is further divided into the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic period or the old and the new Stone age.

The Geologist takes up the history of the earth at the point where the archaeologist leaves it and carries it further back into antiquity. From an examination of the stratified rocks, according to the character of the

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fossils found in them, the geologist has divided the history of our planet into five different periods.

The Iron age, the Bronze age and the Neolothic age come under the Recent or the Post-Glacial period while the Palaeolithic age is supposed to fall in the Pleistocene period. Various estimates have been made regarding the time of the commencement of the Neolithic age but the oldest date assigned does not exceed 5000 B.C. Regarding the commencement of the Palaeolothic period, there are two different views entertained by the geologists, Prof. Geikie putting it between 50 to 60 thousand years ago and the American geologists at about 8000 years only.

As regards the races which inhabited Europe in these early ages, the evidence furnished by human remains or skulls shows that they were the direct ancestors of the races now living in the different parts of Europe. The question, whether the Aryans were autochthonous or went to Europe from some other place cannot be settled by these discoveries. But the Vedic and Avestic evidence proves that the Aryans were autochthonous neither in Europe nor in Central Asia but had their original home somewhere near the North Pole in the Palaeolithic times and that they migrated from this place southwards in Asia and Europe, not by any "irresistible impulse" but by unwelcome changes in the climatic conditions of their original home. From the geological evidence of fossil, fauna and flora, we find that in the early geological ages when the Alps were low and the Himalayas not yet upheaved and when Asia and Africa were represented by only a group of islands, an equable and uniform climate prevailed over the

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whole surface of the globe. A luxuriant forest vegetation, which can only grow and exist at present in the tropical or temperate climate, flourished in the high altitude of Spitzbergen, where the sun goes below the horizon from November till March, thus showing that a warm climate prevailed in the Arctic regions in those days. If, therefore, the Vedic evidence points to an Arctic Home where the ancestors of the *Vedic Rishis* lived in ancient times, there is nothing in the latest scientific discoveries which would warrant us in considering this result as *a priori* improbable.

It has been a fashion to speak of the Polar regions as characterised by light and darkness of six months each ; but this statement is only roughly true. The Pole is merely a point and all the inhabitants of the original ancient Home, if there was one near the North Pole, could not have lived precisely at this single point. We must, therefore, distinguish between the characterestics of the Polar region and those of the circum-polar region.

THE POLAR CHARACTERESTICS.

(1) The Sun rises in the South.

(2) The stars do not rise and set ; but *revolve* or spin round and round, in *horizontal planes*, completing one round in 24 hours.

(3) The year consists only of *one long day* and *one long night* of *six months each*.

(4) There is only *one morning* and *one evening*. But the *twilight*, whether of the morning or of the evening, *lasts continuously* for about *two months*. The ruddy light of the morn or the evening twilight *moves round and round along the horizon*, like a potter's wheel.

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THE CIRCUM-POLAR CHARACTERESTICS.

(1) The Sun will *always be to the South* of the Zenith of the observer.

(2) A large number of stars are *circum-polar* ; the rest rise and set, but revolve in more oblique circles.

(3) The year is made up of *three parts* :—(*a*) *one long continuous night* lasting for a period of greater than 24 hours and less than six months according to the latitude of the place (*b*) *one long continuous day* to match (*c*) a succession of ordinary days and nights during the rest of the year, never exceeding a period of 24 hours.

(4) The dawn, at the close of the long continuous night, lasts for several days but its duration and magnificance is proportionally less than at the North Pole. The other dawns will only last for a few hours.

We can take these differentae as our unerring guides in the examination of the Vedic evidence bearing on the point at issue . If a Vedic description or tradition discloses any of the characterestics mentioned above, we may safely infer that the tradition is Polar or circum-Polar in origin, and the phenomenon, if not actually witnessed by the poet, was at least known to him by tradition, faithfully handed down from generation to generation. Such references in the Vedic literature may be divided into two parts : the *first* comprising those passages which directly refer to the long night or the long dawn and the second consisting of myths or legends which corroborate and indirectly support the first.

We find passages in the Rig-veda (X, 89, 4. II, 15, 2. IV, 56, 3 X, 89, 2) which compare the motion of the heavens to that of a wheel and state that the celestial

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Vault is supported as if on an axis. Combining these two statements, we may safely infer that the motion referred to is such a motion of the celestial hemisphere as can be witnessed only by an observer at the North Pole.

Let us now turn to another characterestic of the Polar regions *viz* a day and a night of six months each and examine references to this characterestic, reference to which is found not only in the Puranas but also in astronomical works. Surya-Siddhanta (XII, 67) says " At Meru, Gods behold the sun after but a *single rising* during the half of his revolution beginning with Aries." Manu describing the divisions of time says (I, 67) " A year (human) is a day and a night of the gods." In Chapters 163 and 164 of the Vanaparvam (Mahabharat), Arjuna's visit to mount Meru is described in detail and we are therein told " At Meru the sun and the moon go round from left to right every day and so do all the stars " Later on, the writer says " The mountain by its lustre, so overcomes the darkness of night, that the night can hardly be distinguished from the day." A few verses further, and we find, " The day and the night are together equal to a year to the residents of the place." Evidently, the writer had a tolerably correct idea of the meteorological and astronomical characterestics of the North Pole. The *lustre of the mountain* is the splendour of the Aurora Borealis visible at the North Pole. Passing from the Post Vedic literature to the Vedic we find in the Taittiraya Brahmana (III, 9 22, 1) " That which is a year is but a single day of the Gods." It is true that the statement, or anything similar to it is not found in the Samhita portion of the Rigveda.

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But there are many other passages which go to corroborate this statement in a remarkable way.

The long continuous dawn with its revolving splendours is another characterestic of the North Pole. The Vedic poets could not have gone into raptures over the short-lived dawn of the tropical or temperate zone. In the Aitareya Brahmana IV, 7, a long recitation of not less than a thousand verses is to be recited by the Hotri priest "when the darkness of the night is about to be relieved by the light of the dawn." So there must have been in those days, sufficient time between the first appearance of light and the rise of the sun, to recite the long song. Sometimes the recitation ended long before sunrise and in that case other hymns are required to be continued, and Apa Stamb requires all the ten mandalas of the Rigvedas to be recited if necessary. In Rigveda VII. 76 the poet expressly tells us that a period of *several days* elapsed between the first appearance of the dawn and the actual rising of the sun, and the commentator, Sàyana, not understanding how the words " day " can be applied to a period of time anterior to sunrise, twists the meaning of the " Ahan " and translates it by " splendour." Similarly in Rig. II. 28-9 the words bhuyasîh ushàsah avyushtàh which literally mean " many dawns have not dawned or fully flashed forth " have been a riddle to the commentators. These dawns were thirty in number (Taittirîya Samhita IV. 3. 11). Sàyana, unable to account for so many dawns explains that though the dawn was one yet by its Yogic powers, it assumed these various shapes !

When the long duration of the Vedic dawn is once

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demonstrated, it astronomically follows that long days and long nights existed in those times. Let us, however, try to find independent evidence of their existence. There are many passages in the Rig-Veda that speak of long and ghastly darkness in one form or other. Thus in I, 32, 10 Vritra, the traditional enemy of Indra, is said to be engulfed in long darkness. In V, 32, 5, Indra is described as having placed Shushna, who was anxious to fight in " the darkness of the pit." The next verse speaks of Sunless (ghastly) darkness. These expressions lose all their propriety, if the darkness, in which the enemies of Indra are said to have flourished, be taken to be ordinary darkness of twelve, or at best, of twenty-four hours' duration. It was in reality a long one.

In the 10th Mandala of the Rig-Veda we have a hymn (127) in which Night is invoked to " become easily fordable." In the Parishishta, which follows this hymn the worshipper addresses the Night " May we reach the other side in safety ! May we reach the other side in safety." In the Atharva-Veda, XIX, 47, the second verse runs thus " Each moving thing finds rest in her (Night) *whose yonder boundary is not seen, nor that which keeps her separate* " In the Taittiriya Samhita I, 5, 5, 4, we have a similar prayer addressed to the Night and a little later I, 5, 7, 5, the Samhita itself explains the prayer thus " In old times the Brahmans were afraid that it (night) would not dawn." What does this signify ? If the night was not unusually long, where was the necessity for entertaining any misgivings about the coming dawn ?"

III, 55, II literally translated means :—" The twin

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pair (females) make many forms ; of the two one shines and the other is dark. Two sisters are they, the dark and the bright." We have here a two-fold description of the couple (Day and Night). It is called the shining and the dark and also is described as possessed of many forms. Sayana interprets these forms as different colours like black. white etc. This is evidently wrong. Are we to suppose that we may have sometimes green, violet, yellow or blue days and nights? Again though *rupa* may lend itself to this interpretation, the word used in the above verse, *Vapumshi* cannot be so understood. It can only denote the extent, duration and length of days and nights, in addition to their colour, which can be only twofold, dark or bright. The first half of the verse, therefore, means, " The twin pair assume various (nànà) lengths (Vapumshi) ; of the two one shines and the other is dark. The third quarter of the verse " Two sisters are they, the dark (Shyavi) and the bright (arushi)" has puzzled the commentators but they have solved the riddle by regarding the twins (yamya) and the sisters (svasaran) as identical. But this is wrong. The only possible explanation is that the year spoken of in the passage is a circum-Polar year made up of one long day and one long night, forming one pair and a number of ordinary days and nights of various lengths which can be described as " bright, dark and of varying lengths."

In X, 138, 3, the third verse begins with " The Sun unyoked his car in the midst of heaven," not at sunset or on the horizon but in the midst of heaven. The words are quite clear. Mr. Griffith tries to explain this

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difficulty by thinking that the poet here refers to an eclipse. But during an eclipse, the sun is covered with the dark shadow of the earth and is not besides stationary. Sayana twists the meaning. But we need not be impatient to escape from the natural meaning of the verse. A long halt of the sun in the midst of the heaven is clearly described here and it refers to the long day of the Arctic region.

In the Samhita and the Brahmanas, the annual sattras, or yearly sacrificial sessions, are said to extend over twelve months. But this was impossible within the Arctic region, where the sun goes below the horizon for a number of months during the year, thereby producing the long night. The oldest duration of the annual *sattras*, if such were ever performed within the Polar regions, would therefore be shorter than twelve months. In other words, an annual *sattra* of *less* than twelve months would be the chief distinguishing mark of the older sacrificial system. As all the people cannot be expected to be stationed at the Pole, the months of sunshine will vary from seven to eleven for the inhabitants of the Arctic region ; and the Arctic sacrificial year, would be made up of these months of sunshine. Let us now interpret the legend of Aditi or the seven Adityas (Suns). This legend expressly tells us that the oldest number of Adityas is seven. The sun is called seven horsed and in V, 45, 9 and his seven wheeled chariot is said to be drawn by seven bay steeds (I, 50, 8). The Atharva-Veda speaks of the " seven bright rays of the Sun (VII, 107, 1). Sayana is unable to account for the number seven as applied to the rays. The cue to understand the legend can be had from Shatapatha

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Brahmana which says "There are twelve months of the year; these are the Adityas." If therefore the twelve Adityas represent the twelve months of the year, the seven Adityas must have once (purvyam yugam) represented the seven months of the year. The legend of the Dashagvas or Dirghatamas points to the existence of an year of ten months; and as these cannot be accounted for except on the Arctic theory, the chain of evidence is strengthened by these legends.

The sacrificial literature also helps us in arriving at the same hypothesis. Once in the Aitaraya Brahmana and twice in the Taittiriya Samhita, we meet with descriptions regarding the *Gavam-Ayanam*, or the "cows' walk" wherein cows are represented as holding a sacrificial session. This session could be completed in 10 or 12 months. Why the session could be completed in 10 months seems to have puzzled Sayana and others, who merely content themselves with remarking that it is an "immemorial customs." The Arctic theory throws quite a new light on this tradition. The *Gavam-ayanam* of ten months and the old Roman year of ten months are relics of the period when the Aryans lived within the circumpolar regions. The 'cows' were not really cows, but the Adityas (month-gods).

If we turn to Vedic mythology, we find several stories, which cannot be properly explained either on the Dawn or Storm theory. The description of Indra's fight with Vritra records four simultaneous effects (1) the release of the cows (2) the release of the waters (3) the production of the dawn and (4) the production of the Sun. Advocates of the Storm theory describe Vrita as a storm-cloud and by smiting it with his

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thunder-bolt, Indra may be described as releasing the waters imprisoned therein. But where are the cows which are said to be released along with the waters. The Niruktas interpret cows to mean Waters ; but in that case the release of the waters and the release of the cows are not two *distinct* effects.

The struggle between Indra and Vritra is really a struggle between the powers of light and darkness. The passages where waters are said to be released by Indra after killing Vritra do not refer expressly to the rain-cloud. Vedic scholars have wrongly supposed that when the Rig-Veda speaks of the celestial waters (*divyah apah*) only the rain-waters are intended. But this is a mistake ; for in passages which speak of the creation of the world (X, 82, 6 ; 129, 3) the world is said to have once consisted of nothing but undifferentiated waters,—or in the language of modern scientists of 'ether' or 'nebulous mass of matter.' The ancient Aryans like the old Hebrews believed that the subtle matter which filled the whole space in the universe was nothing but watery Vapours ; and secondly that the movements of the Sun, the moon and other heavenly bodies were caused by these Vapours which kept on constantly circulating from the neither to the upper and from the Upper to the lower celestial hemisphere. The mischief wrought by Vritra was that he stopped the flow of these waters ; consequently the Sun, the moon, the stars all ceased to rise. Indra by killing Vritra released the waters and brought with them the dawn, the Sun, and the cows (*i.e.*, days or the rays of the morning). The victory is thus naturally described as four-fold . Objectors to this theory might say that the struggle

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between Indra and Vritra is a *daily* fight between light and darkness. But X, 62, 2 shows that the struggle was annual. This proves the Arctic Home hypothesis.

The Avesta contains two passages (first two Fargards) which also point to this theory. The first Fargard (chapter) of the Vendidad enumerates 16 lands created by Ahura Mazda. As soon as each land was created Angra Mainyu, the evil spirit created different evils and plagues to invade the land and make it unfit for human habitation. Out of these 16 lands 10 can be still identified with certainty. This proves that the account is real and not mythological. The Airyana Vaejo is described as the first good and happy creation of Ahura Mazda but Angra Mainyu converted it into a land of ten months winter and two months summer. This sudden change in the climate of the Airyana Valjo, converting ten months summer and two months winter into ten months severe winter and two months cold summer was clearly due to the advent of the Glacial period as established by modern geologists. The second Fargard of the Vendidad gives us a graphic description of the actual advent of ice and snow. It also informs us that a Vara or enclosure was made to provide against the calamity and that in this Vara, the sun, the moon and the stars *rose but once a year.*

The cumulative weight of these and other researches incontrovertibly establishes Mr. Tilak's theory.

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